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ABSTRACT

The collection of articles on second language teaching and learning includes: "Cross-Cultural Discourse Pragmatics: Speaking about Hearsay in English and Japanese" (Nobuko Trent); "An Investigation of Student Opinions and Educational Experiences in Spanish for the Heritage Speakers at Arizona State University and the University of Arizona" (Theresa Reber, Kimberly Geeslin); "Authentic Foreign Language Testing in a Brazilian University Entrance Exam" (Rosana M. F. Cardoso); "Changing Teacher Roles in the Foreign Language Classroom" (Francis Johnson, Marion Delarche, Nicholas Marshall, Adrian Wurr, Jeffery Edwards); "Neurolinguistic Applications to SLA Classroom Instruction: A Review of the Issues with a Focus on Danesi's Bimodality" (E. G. Kim-Rivera); and "A Test for Learning Style Differences for the U.S. Border Population" (Armand Picou, Rebecca Gatlin-Watts, James Packer). A book review is also included. (David Coberly) Individual papers contain references.) (MSE)

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Cross-Cultural Discourse Pragmatics: Speaking about Hearsay in English and Japanese

NOBUKO TRENT

Every language has different systems for expressing third-party information. While in some languages grammar rules stipulate how to do this, in both Japanese and English the degree of indirection or direction a speaker should use to express information obtained as hearsay is genuinely a pragmatic language issue. One may observe that English speakers tend to express hearsay information in more direct forms than Japanese speakers. Cross-cultural discourse analysis, in relation to the concept of speaker's information territory, revealed that English and Japanese have different pragmatic rules for dealing with hearsay information. The issue was analyzed from both cultural and linguistic viewpoints. Implications for foreign language instruction are also suggested.

INTRODUCTION

For foreign language teachers, how and when to incorporate the pragmatic aspects of the target language, that is, how to use the language properly in real-world situations, is always a difficult issue. Although there are a number of ways to define *pragmatics*, in this paper, I will use Levinson's definition, which says that pragmatics is "a functional perspective of language use that attempts to explain facets of linguistic structure by reference to non-linguistic pressures and causes" (Levinson, 1983). One view concerning the scope of pragmatics proposes that a pragmatic theory is part of performance and does nothing to explicate the linguistic structure or grammar (e.g., Katz, 1977; Kempson, 1975). Another view argues that pragmatics and grammar cannot be separated since sometimes aspects of linguistic structure directly encode the features of the context; therefore, pragmatics may cover both context-dependent and context-independent grammar (e.g., Levinson, 1983).

The latter view, which I consider realistic, suggests that all aspects of foreign language use can be considered to be pragmatics. Context-dependent grammar, which is often called "discourse grammar," is not additional information to descriptive sentence-level grammar, but essential knowledge required to be a competent speaker of a language. In actuality, however, I observe that foreign language teachers focus, in novice-level classes in particular, most often on context-independent grammar. This likely happens because (1) teachers think that context-dependent grammar will be learned appropriately after the basic context-independent grammar is sufficiently understood; and (2) theories of pragmatics are not easy to teach due to teachers' lack of knowledge of the rationales of pragmatic use of their native language.

The teachers' lack of focus on target language discourse grammar might often facilitate the students' misunderstanding of pragmatic meanings of utterances in a given speech situation. Students may interpret what they hear in the foreign language in the pragmatic system of their native language and may also speak in the same manner, which may not be appropriate in a given social context of the target language. Eventually, systematic occurrence of inappropriate pragmatic behavior by foreign language speakers can lead to "ethnic stereotyping" (e.g., Scollon, 1988).

The issues of communicative misunderstanding due to differences in pragmatic requirements of different languages, such as speech acts, have been investigated, while some phenomena have not yet had sufficient attention. My topic for this paper, the cultural/linguistic differences between Japanese speakers and American English speakers in handling third-party information (in short, hearsay) has never been studied as an independent issue.

In some languages, a speaker is grammatically required to clarify the source of information. For example, in the Tuyuca language, spoken in Brazil and Columbia, morphological forms of the verbal tense/person suffix function to indicate the source of information (e.g., "visual," "senses other than visual," "hearsay," "assumed," "apparent") on which the speaker's proposition is based (Barnes, 1984, discussed in Palmer, 1986). Neither English nor Japanese has a similar kind of grammatical restriction; thus, in these languages expressions of information source reflect a speaker's subjective judgment.

Before beginning this research, I had the impression, as a native Japanese speaker, that English speakers sounded somewhat decisive and very certain regarding information about other people or other people's events. For example, suppose one of my American students said to me in Japanese, "In New Orleans, during Mardi Gras, there is no place to stay unless you make a reservation two months in advance." I would naturally understand that she had been to New Orleans during Mardi Gras and was speaking from her own experience. However, this may not actually have been the case. She may have based her utterance on something she heard which she believed to be true. This happens often enough to raise a question: Do students transfer the pragmatic use of their native language (English) into their target language (Japanese)? If so, what is the difference in these two languages in talking about hearsay? Based on these thoughts, my research questions are these:

1. How differently do native English speakers and native Japanese speakers talk about information to which they do not have direct access?

2. What is the implication of that difference, if any, to foreign language teaching?

BACKGROUND

In this study, I analyzed discourse data in light of research done by Kamio (1979, 1985, 1987, 1990, 1994) and Labov and Fanshel (1977).

Kamio's Theory of Territory of Information

Kamio proposed the idea that Japanese speakers distinguish between different kinds of information which belong to different "information territories": (1) information which belongs to the speaker's territory, (2) information which belongs to the hearer's territory, (3) information which is shared by both parties' territories to different degrees, and (4) information which belongs to a third party. He proposed that speakers use syntactically and morphologically different sentence structures according to the information territory in which an utterance falls. In this argument, indirect sentence structures indicate that propositional information is not within the speaker's information territory. That is, the speaker does not have primary, socially authorized access to the information; thus, these sentences will be expressed with phrases such as *I heard, it seems, it looks like, may,* and *apparently*[1]. From the concept of "linguistic evidentiality," these expressions are generally based on indirect evidence (e.g., "reported" and "inferred") rather than the evidence of direct experience (e.g., witnessing; see Willet, 1988; Chung and Timberlake, 1985).[2]

In summary, Kamio argued that Japanese speakers determine the owner of the information about which they are speaking and choose the proper sentence form, sentence-ending form in particular, for each utterance. The basic argument of his theory was empirically confirmed by Trent (1993).

Kamio's theory is insightful in that it gives an explanation for the observable dominant usage of indirect forms in Japanese spoken discourse. Kamio applied this theory to English also and argued that in English there are only two kinds of information from the viewpoint of information territory: (1) information that belongs to the speaker's information territory, and (2) information that does not belong to the speaker's information territory. Thus, for English speakers, the theory argues, it only matters whether or not the speaker has direct access to the information. The theory denied English speaker's awareness of a "shared information" milieu between the speaker and his hearer, and thus seems overly simplistic. Yet, Kamio did expect both English and Japanese speakers to be structurally indirect when using third-party information. However, based on the observed linguistic behavior of learners of Japanese, I speculated that English speakers use direct forms to express third-party information more often than Japanese speakers do. I felt that this idea might lead to a more realistic theory about English speakers' psychological concepts of third-party information in contrast to those of Japanese speakers.

Labov and Fanshel's Theory

Labov and Fanshel's view was informative in that it proposed a similar concept of information cate-

gories for English. Labov and Fanshel (1977) analyzed "therapeutic interviews" between mental patients and their psychotherapists. In doing so, they categorized the initiation from the psychotherapist into five event categories: A-, B-, AB-, O-, and D- events:

A-event: Events to which speaker (A) has privileged access.

B-event: Events to which hearer (B) has privileged knowledge.

AB-event: Knowledge which is shared by A and B.

O-event: Events which are known to everyone present and known to be known.

D-event: Events which are known to be disputable.

As to A-events and B-events, Labov's and Kamio's views are almost identical. Labov and Fanshel acknowledged O-events and D-events as two different categories, while Kamio treated third-party information as one category. In Labov and Fanshel's view, it seems that whether the event is thought to be known or disputable makes a difference in English speakers' acceptance of what they heard.

There are some issues we can raise regarding their analysis. First, the border between O-events and D-events can be very fuzzy. On this point, the authors claimed that one's "pragmatic presupposition" decides whether a certain event is O, AB, or D. The speaker's subjective decision is assumed in this process.

This exercise of subjectivity is very interesting. In a certain culture, how much subjectivity are people allowed to exercise to determine which linguistic forms they use? The social norm for the degrees of acceptance of speaker subjectivity must be different from language to language, including English and Japanese. If American speakers handle third-party information as everybody-knows events more often than Japanese people do, we might be able to conclude that American rules of pragmatics allow more speaker subjectivity than those in Japanese.

Second, Labov and Fanshel used the concept of "knowing" (as in "events which are known to be known" to somebody). Kamio argued that "knowing" is not a linguistically useful concept (1990, p. 195). Although he did not clarify this concept in detail, I believe it has to do with the fuzzy borderline between knowledge and belief in relation to the truth. We cannot always be sure whether we know a certain thing, or if we simply believe it is so based on some credible information source. This is a philosophical question[3] which brings up an interesting issue, namely, that the actual truth value of what we talk about possibly does not matter much so far as we believe what we hear.

An informant actually replied to the question of why he used a direct form when talking about the President's affairs by stating "Well, now everyone knows President Clinton had affairs with his aides."

This logic goes as follows: "If a certain event is an open-event, I believe it is true." Therefore, it seems that O-events may tend to form our *beliefs*, and also our *belief* of a certain event may decide which linguistic forms we use, no matter what the truth actually is. In this sense, Labov and Fanshel's categorization is also insightful in analyzing English hearsay discourse, although it may not be applicable to Japanese discourse of third-person information.

DATA COLLECTION

I interviewed four native English speakers (three females and one male) and three native Japanese speakers (two males and one female) an average of sixty minutes each regarding a variety of topics. Topics were selected to elicit information which the informant obtained through hearsay. Main topics used were (1) famous figures, such as President Clinton, Hillary Clinton, Anne Richards, George Washington, Japanese Princess Masako, and Japanese Empress Michiko; (2) people whom the informant respects; (3) celebrities, such as movie stars, musicians, and authors whom the informant likes; and (4) places which the informant has never visited, but would like to visit.

The informants are all university graduate students or university employees, whose ages ranged from their 20s to 40s. I obtained fifty-four lengthy discourses in total from seven informants. All discourses were tape-recorded and transcribed.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Data Set 1: Quantitative Analysis

The occurrences of direct and indirect sentence forms from the speaker's utterances about hearsay, i.e., information which the speaker cannot access directly, were counted. Therefore, utterances about information which was obtained through direct experience as well as utterances of "epistemic judgment" such as opinions and speculations were ignored. Utterances of hearsay comprised only ten to twenty percent of each discourse. Indirect forms are sentences that include some linguistic property which indicates that the speaker gained the information from some means other than direct experience. The unit of analysis here is basically a sentence. It is often argued that a sentence is not an appropriate unit of discourse (e.g., Schiffrin, 1987); however, since this study's main focus is on the sentence forms, considering a sentence as a unit is inevitable. Japanese is structurally an SOV language in that a verb phrase (VP) comes at the end of each sentence. Primary attention was paid to the forms of each VP ending a sentence. Sometimes combined sentences were counted as one unit, and so were some phrases due to strong cohesiveness.

Table 1 is the result of the quantitative analysis of the Japanese speakers, and Table 2 is that for the English speakers. "Unclear" items were utterances which were incomplete, so that it was not possible to determine the type of sentence struc-

Table 1
Japanese Speakers' Usage of Direct/Indirect Forms in Hearsay Discourse

Speakers	**Direct sentences**	**Indirect sentences**	Unclear sentences	Total
JPN1 (F) Yoko	15 (14.3%)	85 (78.7%)	8	108 (100%)
JPN2 (M) Yoshio	8 (17.8%)	20 (44.4%)	17	45 (100%)
JPN3 (M) Takeshi	6 (6.1%)	70 (70.0%)	23	99 (100%)
Average	**12.7%**	**64.4%**		

Table 2
English Speakers' Usage of Direct/Indirect Forms in Hearsay Discourse

Speakers	**Direct sentences**	**Indirect sentences**	Unclear sentences	Total
ENG1 (F) Sally	31 (58.5%)	20 (37.7%)	2	53 (100%)
ENG2 (M) Steve	56 (58.9%)	37 (38.9%)	2	95 (100%)
ENG3 (F) Alice	58 (69.9%)	21 (25.3%)	4	83(100%)
ENG4 (F) Linda	66 (75.9%)	18 (20.7%)	3	87 (100%)
Average	**65.8%**	**30.6%**		

ture, such as a sentence consisting only of nouns. Japanese have a strong tendency to make sentences incomplete to avoid direct assertion by omitting sentence modality at the end of the sentence. Therefore an ambiguous sentence-ending will make a sentence verbless. These utterances were regarded as unclear utterances. Informants' names have been changed.

Although the amount of data was relatively small, the difference between the two languages is fairly large. Japanese informants used indirect forms in 64.4% of their hearsay sentences, while English speakers used indirect forms in 30.6% of theirs.

Data Set 2: Overview of Japanese and English Discourse

As examples of Japanese discourse and English discourse under consideration, JPN1 Yoko's and ENG1 Sally's discourses are presented in Discourse 1. Both informants talked about the same topic. Although Yoko's discourse is presented here in English, the original Japanese text can be found in the appendix.

Speaking about the same hearsay topic (Discourses 1 and 2), Sally and Yoko showed contrastive speech styles in terms of directness of expression. Even a cursory glance at these two discourses reveals that

Discourse 1
(Yoko Regarding Clinton)

(1) Yoko:	When he was in Arkansas, he was the Gov. or something, wasn't he?	Indirect
(2)	At that time, I think it was the secretary, there was a girl who was so-so pretty, and it seems that (he) said to her that he had something to tell her or like that.	Indirect
(3)	Then, somewhat, it seems that (he) called her to a hotel suite,	Indirect
(4)	then, somewhat, he might have used the place as his office or not, I forget about that point,	Indirect
(5)	Then, anyway, he propositioned her, that is the story.	Indirect
(6) Int.:	Wow, what an impudent guy. Wasn't he married then?	
(7) Yoko:	Of course, he was already married.	Direct
(8)	But I don't know whether it is true.	
(9)	Then, anyway, he propositioned her, and it is very embarrassing but, it is said that he was dropping his underwear while doing so	Indirect
(10) Int.:	Really?	
(11) Yoko:	I don't know if it is true.	
(12)	It seems that that girl came, anyway, to the place because Clinton said that he wanted to talk about her promotion or something like that.	Indirect
(13)	And the story was very different, so the girl seemed like very upset.	Indirect
(14)	But, at that time, Clinton said, according to her, that, it seems that he said, he had no intention to do what she did not like to do.	Indirect
(15)	However, it was a great shock for her, and apparently so, then she felt she was sexually harassed.	Indirect
(16)	Then, so, eventually, she sued, didn't she?	Indirect
(17)	I don't know how that lawsuit went though...	
(18) Int.:	But, didn't it happen long time ago?	Direct
(19) Yoko:	Yes, it was an old story. Yes it is.	
(20) Int.:	She brought it to court recently however.	
(21) Yoko:	Probably so since now it is controversial.	Indirect
(22) Int.:	Still, he could make President.	
(23) Yoko:	It looks like so. I don't know.	Indirect

Discourse 2
(Sally regarding Clinton)

Int.:	What's his background before becoming the Gov. of Arkansas?	
(1) Sally:	Well, he's um, he came from a lower-middle class, I guess, family/	Indirect
(2)	Mostly raised by his mother even though she was marri-/	Unclear
(3)	Well// I think/ his father/ died when he was young/ and there was a step-father in the picture/	Indirect
(4)	But I think his step-father was an alcoholic.	Indirect
(5)	I think his// I don't know, he has a complicated background.	Indirect
(6)	But he, sort of, was always ambitious and//	Direct
(7)	wanted a good and I think because his mother also, I think she encouraged him a lot.	Indirect
(8) Int.:	He's been to Oxford?	
(9) Sally:	He was a Rhodes scholar.	Direct
(10)	So, he's obviously very bright.	
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(11) Int.:	Recently there was a scandalous matter. What I heard is Pres. Clinton's former secretary was about to sue him.	
(12) Sally:	I think she still is.	Indirect
(13)	I think she's still saying she's gonna sue.	Indirect
(14) Int.:	Please tell me anything you heard about the woman and her assertion, what she claimed	
(15) Sally:	Well, I think it's hard to believe everything she said.	
(16)	Well, she claims that/ that he made a sexual advancement/	Direct
(17)	Umm, and she claims that she was penalized in her job//because she rejected him//	Direct
(18)	But the facts are not really, they don't support the accusation.	Direct
(19)	Because she did get merit increases// you know, the next two years after that particular incident.	Direct
(20)	I think it's, I think the correct term is sexual harassment/ on the job.	
(21) Int.:	Why did she start saying that now? because I think, I thought it happened long time before...	
(22) Sally:	Several, well, it happened, a few years ago. I'm not	Indirect

	exactly sure when.	
(23)	But she's just not, I mean, I don't believe everything people say.	
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.		
(24)	I'm not saying that, he might have flirted with her, he might have made a pass at her, I have no idea	Direct
(25)	But, see there's all these other stories coming out.	
(26)	Her sister/ I think/ it's her sister actually, was saying/ that she was all excited about Bill Clinton noticing her at the time/ this happened.	Indirect
(27)	She was not acting that she has been sexually harassed.	Direct
.		
.		
.		
(28) Int:	Isn't this the first time that he's got this kind of problem?	
(29) Sally:	No, it's not the first time.	Direct
(30)	There was someone, I think there was someone else.	Indirect
(31)	I don't remember.	
(32)	I think there was someone else/ another woman.	Indirect
(33) Sally:	Oh, I know there was.	Direct
(34)	There was another woman who claims that she had an affair with him/over a period of several years.	Direct
(35)	That's true.	Direct

Japanese discourse is filled with tag questions and phrases such as *it is said, I heard, I think, it seems*, while English discourse is more directly expressed. Sally used indirect forms *I think/I guess* several times; however, it was suggested to me by American colleagues when discussing this discourse data that it may not have been Sally's intention to distance herself from the event by using *I think*, but rather she was simply taking time to remember, or perhaps she was not certain of herself. So, Sally's "I think" was probably a kind of filler and not necessarily suggestive of true indirect forms. If this interpretation is correct, Sally's discourse is understood to be fairly direct in comparison with Yoko's.

However, since the Clinton issue is an American domestic topic, it is reasonable to assume that Yoko, as a foreigner, felt a psychological distance between the topic and her-

self even though she has lived in the U.S. over five years, and this feeling of distance may have made her speech indirect. On this point, the data indicates that Japanese informants showed the same kind of indirectness toward Japanese hearsay topics. Discourse 3 is an example in which Yoko talked about the Japanese Empress. The speaker, Yoko, spoke about this Japanese domestic subject as indirectly as she spoke about President Clinton.

However, it is also possible that, due to a long absence from Japan, my Japanese informants in the U.S. may also have felt a degree of distance from Japanese topics as well. Therefore, a Japanese native speaker living in a foreign country over a certain period of time may possibly become psychologically distant from both society's issues.[4] This assumption seems to be intuitively valid. However, if we look at hearsay discourse of Japanese speakers living in Japan, we still find a similar indirect tendency as found in Yoko's Discourses 1 and 3. Discourse 4, for example, was given by Yuko, who had never left Japan (from Trent, 1997). In Discouse 4, Yuko presented an extremely low-assertive indirect mode of speech in discussing some religious cult (*Aum-Shinrikyoo*) members at large who were suspected to be responsible for the Sarin Poison Gas case in the Tokyo metropolitan subway system in 1995. The original Japanese transcriptions of Discourses 3 and 4 are in the appendix. In Discourse 4, although the speaker, Yuko, was talking about that which is generally accepted as truth, the speech is indirect and her level of assertiveness is very low. Her utterances sound very unsure in English translation, but in

Discourse 3
(Yoko Regarding Empress)

(1) Yoko:	When she got married, <u>wasn't she somewhat plump</u>?	Indirect
(2)	Now, you see, her cheeks are sunken,	Direct
(3)	This reminds me that <u>I heard</u> that she was tormented,	Indirect
(4)	When she entered the imperial family, you see, she was the first person, from ordinary citizens.	
(5)	<u>I heard</u> that she was, therefore, tormented in the relationship between herself and her imperial relatives such as mother-in law, sisters in law, and such and such.	Indirect
(6)	<u>I don't know if it is true.</u>	
(7)	(The stories) are from Josei-Seven (women's magazine) and like that.	Source

Discourse 4
(Yuko regarding Aum Cult)

(1) Yuko:	That person is, what shall I say, in short, did he make (Sarin gas)?	Indirect
(2)	Well, he made Sarin gas, and should I say he scattered it by himself?	Indirect
(3)	So, is he a scientist?	Indirect
(4)	Aren't most of them specialized in that field?	Indirect
(5)	So, probably, well, most probably, doing research?	Indirect
(6)	University research institutes do not have much funding generally.	Direct
(7)	So after all, it is said that they entered (the cult group) under the condition that they can do whatever scientific research they wanted to do.	Indirect
(8)	You know, it is said that "religion" was a quite different thing for those people.	Indirect
(9)	So, it is also said that they went into the cult group only because they had desire to study more than they could have done at graduate school.	Indirect
(10)	So should we say they are top class scientists?	Indirect

Japanese this type of low-assertive speech is acceptable, or even preferred. Trent (1997) argued that out of 931 speech units gained from Japanese discourses on third-person topics, indirect forms, such as (tag-) question forms, inferences, hearsay forms, and indirect auxiliaries, were used in 79% of the utterances from formal speech situations, and in 42% of the informal friend discourse utterances (p. 232). Although individual speech style preference should be taken into consideration, these examples in English and Japanese may respectively represent the norm of hearsay discourse style in each language.

Then what reaction can we expect from users of one language to users of the other language? To American listeners, a Japanese speaker probably sounds ambiguous, less-confident, distant, and circumlocutory, as is demanded in Japanese culture. To Japanese listeners, English speakers may sound clear-cut, decisive, confident, and credulous in expressing high commitment to the truth value of his hearsay proposition. These attributes may not be necessarily considered positive in Japanese culture. This case of contrastive analysis might suggest a high probability of cross-cultural misunderstanding due to different

expectations in the use of the two languages.

Thus a question arises: What really makes each language use direct and indirect forms so differently in handling second-hand information? Naturally, the first explanation must be "cultural preference" (item 1 below), as has been discussed previously, but there seems to be several more factors involved, such as in items 2 through 4 below:

1. Differences in cultural preference towards indirectness and directness
2. Differences in the role belief plays in talking about hearsay
3. Differences in reporting-style
4. Syntactical differences between the languages

I will examine how each factor makes a direct/indirect difference in the use of each language.

Differences in Cultural Preference Towards Indirectness and Directness

It is generally agreed that Japanese prefer indirectness over directness (e.g., Hinds, 1985; Okabe, 1983). This is part of the Japanese politeness strategy, but often this strategy goes too far for the listeners to understand the exact meaning of the speaker. Okabe (1983) described Japanese ambiguity as follows:

> The cultural assumptions of interdependence and harmony require that Japanese speakers limit themselves to implicit and even ambiguous use of words. In order to avoid leaving an assertive impression, they like to depend more frequently on qualifiers such as *maybe, perhaps, probably,* and *somewhat*. Since Japanese syntax does not require the use of subject in a sentence, the qualifier predicate is the predominant form of sentence construction. This omission of subject often leaves much room for ambiguity. The *I* is not dominant as in English . . . . Another source of ambiguity in style is found in the preference of Japanese for understatement and hesitation rather than for superlative expression. Lastly, they are likely to resort to "round-words" with associative "round-logic." [p. 34]

According to Trent (1993), Japanese women in particular used direct+particle *ne* (for shared information) forms in 35% of their utterances when speaking about their own information. Even when talking about their own affairs, Japanese speakers showed their intent to involve listeners' knowledge by using the particle *ne* or negative/tag questions of shared information.[5] In Japanese culture, *Ano hito wa hakkiri mono o iu* (lit., 'That person speaks clearly about things') is not a compliment. Rather it indicates that a speaker does not linguistically show his acknowledgement of the

hearer's knowledge or differing opinions on the proposition.

As to the English side, American colleagues suggested that there is an American tendency to prefer directness to indirectness, although there may be regional differences. It was also suggested by American informants that in American culture, discourse such as Yoko's sounds very doubtful. These comments are supported by the literature. For example, Scollon (1988) discussed the conversational style of Athabaskan people and American/Canadian people as follows:

> We all need to feel some degree of closeness to others to gain a sense of human involvement while at the same time we need to feel some degree of independence from them for our sense of individual worth. One of the many strategies of involvement is to speak more quickly. One of the many strategies of independence of deference is to speak more slowly .... One of the ways in which Athabaskan people show their respect for others is by cultivating a steady, measured pace in their conversation with them. On the other hand, in contemporary American and Canadian society, we place a relatively high value on interpersonal involvement. One of the ways in which we express that is through adopting an upbeat pace in our dealings with others. [p. 20]

Tannen (1984, 1987), talking about speech styles associated with social groups, also claimed that New Yorkers' speech pattern is different from that of non-New Yorkers for the same reasons. Scollon and Tannen's idea of sense of involvement, which is highly valued in American culture, may perform a role in Americans' preference of direct forms. Immediacy, closeness, and intimacy seem generally appreciated; therefore, even in speaking about hearsay, showing that the closeness of the event to oneself might be preferred.

On the other hand, it seems that Japanese speaker's use of direct forms is pragmatically limited. Kamio (1994) suggested that Japanese speakers use direct forms only when they talk about things and people closely related to them.[6] Trent (1997: 190) modified Kamio's characterization of direct information in the following categories, which I adopt in this research:

A. Information obtained through the speaker's past or current direct experience through visual, auditory, or other senses, including the speaker's inner feeling.

B. Information about people, facts, or things close to the speaker, including information about plans, actions, and behavior of the speaker or other people whom the speaker considers to be close, and information of places

with which the speaker has a geographical relation.

C. Information embodying detailed knowledge which falls within the speaker's area of expertise (professional or otherwise).

D. Information which is unchallengeable by the hearer due to its historically and socially qualified status as truth.

These characteristics, which are socially acknowledged factors, must also be applicable to English speakers. However, based on the analysis so far, an additional factor, the individual's feeling of closeness, should be incorporated as a factor in causing direct forms in case of English discourse.

Differences in the Role Belief Plays in Talking about Hearsay

After the data collection, I asked one of the English speaking informants why he used direct forms for information which he obtained indirectly and thus without direct proof of truth. He casually replied with two reasons: (1) he clarified his information source, thus indicating that the story was hearsay; (2) he believed what he said was true. According to the informant, there are two types of hearsay: one of which is easy to believe, and one which is not (cf. Labov and Fanshel's O-event and D-event). It seems as though American English speakers in general do not hesitate to describe the former type of event in direct forms. Then what is easy to believe?

For example, it is easy to believe that O.J. Simpson's ex-wife and her friend were murdered, O.J. Simpson fled, and there was a long car chase by the L.A. police. These events are easy to believe even without watching the TV broadcast of the car chase because of ensuing mass media reports and personal conversations repeatedly focused attention on the events. (In this sense, this is an O-event). But whether Simpson murdered the two people or not is less easy to believe. The latter event could be categorized as a D-event. "Open" or "disputable" events should be decided by how trustworthy the information source is, how widely the information is accepted by the public, and probably how long it has been talked over. Discourse 5 is a good example of this point.

Discourse 5
(Steve Regarding O. J. Simpson)

(1) Steve:	Actually, lets talk about things that famous people have done.	
(2)	O.J. Simpson is a famous football player.	
(3)	He's retired but he's very very famous.	Direct
(4)	Um, I think most/ almost all Americans know him, I would, I mean if I know him, and he's sports	

	then everyone knows him.	
(5)	Anyway, apparently, his ex-wife and some man were murdered last weekend.	Indirect
(6) Int.:	How?	
(7) Steve:	Stabbed.	Unclear
(8)	And, this was in the papers throughout the week apparently that OJ had just flown to Chicago and the police asked him to come back.	Source Indirect
(9)	They found some incriminating things like what appeared to be blood in his car and what appeared to be drops of blood on, ah, his driveway,	Direct
(10)	And I just heard from my Mom this morning that last night lots of very interesting things happened	Source
(11)	First off, it appeared that he's a murderer.	Indirect
(12)	There is lots of, lots of evidence that points to him being guilty of that.	Direct
(13)	So because he's famous and a lot of people respect him, he is being treated a little differently than the average criminal.	Direct
(14)	Anyway, he wrote a letter yesterday basically sounding like a suicide note which she tried, he tried to claim that he tried to do the best things, ah, that he was, I don't know, I forget exactly what.	Indirect
(15)	Basically, it sounded like a suicide letter.	Direct
(16)	And in which he tried to claim he was trying to do the best thing at all the times.	Direct
(17)	Then he and a friend disappeared.	Direct
(18)	So then a little bit later for some reason, they found, the police found him and his friend driving on the freeway of L.A.	Direct
(19)	And then, for several hours this was all broadcast on national television where there were news helicopters and news vans following him along the freeway,	Direct
(20)	And, so was like half of L.A. was driving around L.A. trying to get a glimpse of him, stopping on the freeway waiting for him to come by.	Direct
(21)	So for several hours he was driving all around L.A. being really famous with the police and the news and everyone following him,	Direct
(22)	But, apparently he had a gun and was going to do a suicide at anytime.	
(23)	And he like had a cellular phone and people were negotiating with him and trying to convince him to...	Direct
(24)	So, finally he was able to drive over to his mansion	

	in Brentwood which is pretty close to UCLA where I went for that exam,	Direct
(25)	And then, for another several hours in the parking lot they had more negotiations,	Direct
(26)	And finally the police were able to talk with him out of the car without committing suicide.	Direct
(27)	He's probably, it looks like he's in jail now	Indirect
(28) Int.:	Did he kill?	
(29) Steve:	It's what it looks like.	Indirect
(30) Int.:	It was his ex-wife?	
(31) Steve:	His ex-wife, yeah,	Direct
(32)	Well, OK, he's apparently married to her for seven years, (indirect) had several marriages.	Indirect
(33)	He's been accused of being an abusive husband,	Direct
(34)	and he's been accused of being getting violent at times	Direct
(35)	and I guess I have to wait and read tomorrow's paper to see what happens on this.	

In this discourse, although the speaker conducted the conversation mostly in direct forms, he employed indirect forms occasionally for utterances about which his memory was not clear, as in (14), (27), and (32), and about which he was more sensitive than others to the possible degree of truth. Those are (11), which implied that OJ is a murderer, and (22), which indicated OJ was trying to kill himself. According to the informant's retrospective thought, points other than these were very easy for him to believe. Therefore, another factor of directly describable hearsay in English would be its credibility.

In summary, the characteristics of information which can be described in direct form in English are the following:

1. Factors A to D for the Japanese language mentioned previously.
2. Information about which people feel closeness, or feel a need to express closeness.
3. Information which people can believe without difficulty due to a reliable source, wide acceptance in society, good fit with existing belief structure, etc.

Differences in Reporting Styles

In Discourse 5, the speaker clarified his information source a few times (lines 8 and 10), indicating that he is talking about hearsay, and described the details in direct forms. This reporting style is often employed by English-speaking informants. Japanese informants did not clearly clarify their news source often.

Discourse 6 is also an example of English discourse. In this fairly short discourse, Alice clarified her news source three times (lines 5, 6, and 11) and described the details in direct form. The speaker reported what she heard about the incident (and had actually watched part of the event with her own eyes on TV), but as a matter of fact, she has already pretty much internalized what she heard and expressed the story with her view. In line (8), she told the interviewer her opinion but this utterance also explains that what she heard was hearsay. In a sense, she paraphrased hearsay into the form of an opinion. In her discourse, the speaker showed that she heard the events, analyzed it from her viewpoint, and formed her own opinion about the events. A similar case is seen in Discourse 2 with Sally from lines (15) to (19).

I would like to call this process the "third-party information internalizing process." This is an interesting way of handling hearsay. This reporting strategy is often found with American informants. Japanese speakers, on the other had. seem to separate hearsay and their own opinions. I feel that extensive emphasis on knowledge in Japanese traditional education, as opposed to American literacy education where the emphasis is on promoting children's critical and reflective thinking, might be responsible for this difference. In the American environment of critical thinking, children learn to internalize what they read and see through the help of social interaction, and create their own view of the world. This may be related to American speakers' tendency to treat third-person information as a basis of their own opinion. This point is hard to prove, but may be the foundation of an interesting discussion.

Syntactical Differences

Another difference in hearsay expression between the two languages may be purely a linguistic issue. English is an SVO language; therefore, in English discourse, it is possible for the speaker to say "I heard that" at the beginning of a paragraph and to suppose that the rest of the paragraph is included in the initial *I heard*, even though the following sentences are spoken in direct form. I found a number of examples of this reporting style, including that in Discourse 7.

Discourse 6
(Alice regarding O.J. Simpson)

(1) Int.:	Can I ask you about this incident?	
(2) Alice:	I know that his wife and another guy were found murdered/	Direct
(3)	that there are a lot of unanswered questions/ like where he was and why was his hand cut and/ where's the murder weapon/	Direct

(4)	They eventually figured it out.	Direct
(5)	It's said on the radio this morning that there was a fifteen inch knife, and they are looking at airport lockers in chicago/	Source Direct
(6)	There was a horrendous long car chase Friday/ some of which I watched on the TV,	Direct Source
(7)	But I didn't watch that much because a) it was boring, and b) I thought it wasn't that newsworthy. I also think that if he hadn't been a famous athlete, he probably would have been dead.	
(8)	If you are an average guy, got into the car, held a gun to his head, and chased down the highway like that, they wouldn't be clearing traffic out of the way.	Paraphrase
(9)	They tried to bring him down.	Direct
(10)	Because he was a famous athlete, he was treated differently. I don't think that's fair. I feel sorry for Mrs. Simpson.	
(11)	They were talking on the news last night, about 1989 he pleaded no contest to wife-beating/	Source Direct
(12)	and the usual sentence is like three years of counselling/ no, excuse me, three years of probation and then group counselling and/ jail time, I forget how much,	Direct
(13)	and he got counselling whenever he wanted on an individual basis.	Direct
(14)	He did not have to go to the group/ and he only got two years of probation and no jail.	Direct
(15) Int.:	That's unfair.	
(16) Alice:	Seems like it.	

Discourse 7
(Sally regarding Paris)

Sally said that she would like to go to France, Paris and local castles.

(1) Int.:	What have you heard about French people?	
(2) Sally:	Well, I've heard they don't like Americans.	Indirect
(3)	There's a real, a real move right now in France, and anti-American, or anti-Western move,	Direct
(4)	They think that, um, American food is destroying	

	their French cuisine.	Direct
(5)	And so, they are really outspoken about not liking a lot of American, umm, intrusions in their country.	Direct
(6)Int.:	I heard about language purification matter. In France, people are trying to purify their language, excluding the imported things, such as hamburgers...	
(7) Sally:	Language is a very good point. They, they really don't really like the, ah, the intrusion on their language.	Direct

In this short paragraph, the speaker used an indirect form, *I've heard*, once at the beginning of the discourse, and the rest was spoken in direct forms. It is possible to view the entire discourse as being included in the *I heard* at the beginning. That is, she did not repeat the indirect speech marker to emphasize that she was talking about hearsay. In English syntactic structure, this is practical. This strategy was also seen in Discourse 5, lines (10) to (27), and Discourse 6, lines (2) to (4) and (11) to (14).

On the other hand, this strategy does not fit in Japanese since Japanese is an SOV language in which verbs come at the end of each sentence. If we intend to use only one V to cover the entire discourse, the VP should be at the end of the discourse as shown in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1 type discourse obviously is not a natural discourse since the speaker cannot indicate that the topic is hearsay until the end of the discourse. Therefore, in order to let the hearer know that the story is a hearsay, Japanese tend to speak each sentence in indirect ways, as in Diagram 2.

In my analysis, this Japanese syntax plays a fairly large part in making Japanese discourse sound very indirect. There are clear attempts of Japanese speakers to organize discourse as in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1
Possible syntax of Japanese Speaker Talking about Hearsay

I information A ,
and information B ,
and information C ,
and information D ,
and information E **heard**.

Diagram 2
Typical syntax of Japanese speaker's talking about hearsay

I	information A	**heard,**
and	information B	**heard,**
and	information C	**heard,**
and	information D	**heard,**
and	information E	**heard.**

The strategy is to make each sentence incomplete and combine all of them as one ultra-long sentence. The following Discourse 8 is a good example. In this discourse, the subject often used *te*-form at the end of each sentence. The *te*-form of verbs and adjectives has a function of linking phrases; thus, grammatically we cannot end a sentence with a *te*-form. If we do, it creates the impression that the sentence is incomplete. In Discourse 8, the speaker ends the sentences with *te*-forms from lines (1) to (8), and it may be appropriate to consider that he connected the following sentences with "I think" in line (8). The original Japanese text can be found in the appendix.

Discourse 8
(Yoshio Regarding Michael Jackson)

(1) Yoshio:	Michael Jackson brought a 13 year-old boy in (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(2)	What did they do? That is not officially announced so I don't know well, but child molestation (noun ending).	Unclear
(3)	That boy said Michael Jackson did this and that to him in bed (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(4)	he charged the claim (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(5)	When the case was about to reach the criminal court, conciliation was made (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(6)	Then, he got the money, one or two million (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(7)	Then, nothing was filed (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(8)	But, even though there was no charge from that boy, now, the police are trying to bring the case to court being the prosecution, they are doing that sortof thing or another, I think.	Unclear
(9) Int.:	By the way, do you know something about the rela-	

	tionship between Michael Jackson and Elizabeth Taylor.	
(10) Yoshio:	Well, they are somewhat on good friendly terms	Direct
(11) Yoshio:	When the case (above) was beginning to be serious, he canceled his European tour after two or three days (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(12)	they were saying that he returned to America but actually he did not return home (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(13)	but stayed at Elizabeth Taylor's house for a while (*te*-ending)	Unclear
(14)	Then after about two weeks, he came home saying he was at Taylor's, it is said like that.	Indirect

The speaker intentionally avoids completing each sentence in order to connect each to the last hearsay marker *I think* (8), and also *It is said* in (14). In a sense, he planned his discourse ahead to exclude saying *I hear* or*I think* in each sentence. I feel this is good evidence that Japanese basic syntax influences Japanese hearsay discourse.

CONCLUSION

My ideas in this study are not difficult to teach to either American learners of Japanese or to Japanese learners of English. However, they have not received sufficient attention, mainly because teachers are not conscious of the pragmatic rules of their native language. Certainly not many of us have ever thought about the linguistic expression of speaker's concept of psychological directness and indirectness.

It seems that Kamio's theory of information territory is useful for Japanese speakers in that his theory attempted to clarify the Japanese concept of direct/indirect information with respect to the speaker. The same analysis does not adequately describe an English speaker's treatment of hearsay. There seem to be additional factors, such as the speaker's feeling of closeness to the information and the speaker's belief about the credibility of the information. These factors have an effect in the American English-language culture when one speaks of other people's information. Also the Japanese cultural preference of indirectness and the American preference of directness make a difference. This factor is purely culturally bounded. As a paralinguistic factor, the reporting style of American English speakers is also different from that of Japanese speakers. American speakers often clarify information sources and sometimes seem to internalize what they have heard into their own discourse of opinion. Differences in syntactical structure are also likely responsible for making Japanese discourse sound indirect.

Therefore, this seemingly significant difference between Japanese and American English in hearsay discourse is linguistic, paralinguistic, and cultural. Utilizing and teaching concepts such as these

should decrease cross- cultural pragmatic misunderstandings.

NOTES:

1 Indirect speech in this research is different from "indirect illocutionary acts" (Searle, 1975). According to Searle, an illocutionary act can be reduced indirectly when the syntactic form of the utterance (e.g., yes/no question form used in the sentence *Could you keep quiet?)* does not meet the illocutionary force of the utterance (e.g., directive). Indirect speech in this paper simply means structurally indirect, which is often expressed by complex sentence structure in that the matrix verb-phrase has some modality of indirectness.

2 In the theory of linguistic evidentiality, i.e., the study of how to express the speaker's commitment to the truth value of his proposition, hearsay information is often treated as only a part of the indirect evidence. There are two meanings of grammatical evidence, direct and indirect evidence, and hearsay (i.e., reported evidence) is one category of indirect evidence (e.g., Willet, 1988).

3 As a matter of fact, the study of evidentiality (or epistemology) was a philosophical topic in Greek and platonic tradition before becoming a linguistic issue of sentence modality (cf. Givon, 1982).

4 I thank Collins Scott Armstrong, University of Texas at Austin, for his valuable suggestions on this point.

5 There are abundant studies concerning *ne* and other Japanese sentence ending particles with respect to their functions and sentential meanings (e.g. Tokieda, 1951; McGloin, 1991; Maynard, 1993; Tanaka, 1977; Oishi 1985; Takubo, 1990, Kinsui, 1992). From the viewpoint of speaker's information territory, Kamio (e.g. 1994) characterized *ne* as being used by the speaker to indicate that a given information belongs to the hearer's information territory.

6 Kamio (1994) stipulated the following conditions for the information in the speaker's territory:
   (1) Information about direct experience
   (2) Information about personal data
      (2a) Personal information
      (2b) Geographical information
      (2c) Information about plans, actions, and behavior
   (3) Information about expertise

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APPENDIX

Japanese utterances in this apprendix are transcribed using the Hepburn romanization system. The following GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS are also used.

ACC	accusative (o)
CONT	contrastive (*wa*)
CONF	sentential particle for confirmation (*ne*)
COMP	sentential complementizer (*no, koto, etc.*)
COND	conditional affix (*to, tara, eba, nara*)
CONJ	conjecture (*daroo*)
COP	copula (*da, desu*)
DAT	dative particle (*ni*)
DES	desiderative affix (*tai*)
DIR	directional case (*e*)
EXP	explanation
GER	gerund
INS	instrumental particle (*de*)
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative particle (*ni, de, e*)
MODI	noun modifier (*no*)
NEG	negative morpheme
NML	nominalizer (*no*)
NOM	nominative particle (*ga*)
PART	sentential particle: VOC, RAPP, CONF, SHAR
PASS	passive affix
PAST	past tense
POSS	possessive
POT	potential affix (*re, rare*)
PROG	progressive affix (*te*)
Q	question particle (*ka*)
QUOT	quotative particle (*to*)
RAPP	sentential particle of rapport (*ne, wa*)
STAT	stative affix
TE	*te*-form of verbs and adjectives
TEMP	temporal particle (*ni, de*)
TOP	topic particle (*wa*)
VOC	vocative sentential particle (*yo, zo, ze, sa*)

Discourse 1 (Yoko-Clinton) in Japanese.

(1) Yoko: *nanka ne, aakansoo ni ita toki ni ne, ano hito gabanaa*
somewhat Arkansas LOC was time TEMP that person governor

ka nanka datta desho.
or something COP (PAST). CONFIRM

(2) *sono toki ni sekuretarii datta to omou-n-da-kedomo, maa, chotto*
that time TEMP secretary was COMP think-n-COP EXP so-so a little

bijin no ko ga ite, sono kanojo ni nanka hanashi

pretty girl MODI girl SUB exist(TE) that she DAT something business

ga aru toka itta rashii no ne.
NOM have like said looks VOC RAPP

(3) *sore o, nanka, kanojo o hoteru no suiitoruumu ni*
that TOP something she ACC hotel POSS suite LOC

yobidashita rashii no ne.
summoned looks VOC RAPP

(4) *de, nanka, soko jibun no ofisu ni shiteta ka sono*
then somewhat there self POSS office LOC made(STAT) whether that

jookyoo wa wasureta kedo ne.
situation CONT forgot EXP RAPP

(5) *Sorede sa, tonikaku kanojo ni sematta wake yo.*
then VOC anyway she DAT approached EXP VOC

(6) Int.: *zuuzuushii yatsu ne. kekkon shiteta -n -deshoo?*
impudent guy RAPP marriage STAT(PAST)-n CONFIRM

(7) Yoko: *mochiron, shita ato yo.*
of course did after VOC

(8) *demo, hontoo- ka doo-ka shinnai yo.*
but truth whether know (NEG) VOC

(9) *de, sorede, tonikaku, sematte, de, rokotsuna hanashi da kedo,*
then then anyway approach(TE) then indecent story COP EXP

kare ga jibun no shitagi no pantsu sagete sematta to-iu
he NOM self POSS underwear MODI pants drop(TE) pressed QUOT

hanashi na-n-da kedo
story-n -COP EXP

(10) Int: *eee, honto?*
wow really

(11) Yoko: *honto -ka doo-ka shiranai kedo*
truth whether know NEG but

(12) *sono kanojo wa tonikaku, sono kurinton ga kanojo no*
that she TOP anyway well Clinton NOM she MODI

puromooshon ni tsuite hanashi o shi -tai to-iu, soo-iu yoona
promotion about talk ACC do (DES) QUOT like that

furekomi de itta rashii no ne.
pass-off INS went looks VOC RAPP

(13) *hanashi ga mattaku chigatte hijooni appusetto-shita rashii no ne.*
business NOM totally different(TE) extremely upset became looks VOC RAPP

(14) *mottomo kurinton wa sono toki ni kanojo ni yoreba da yo,*
however Clinton NOM that time TEMP her according COP VOC

sono toki ni, kimi ga shitakunai koto wa, muriyari shinai kara
that time TEMP you NOM want(NEG) thing TOP forcefully do(NEG) EXP

to iu koto wa itta rashii yo.
QUOT matter CONT said seem VOC

(15) *demo, kanojo ni shitara yappari sugoku shokku de sore o*
but from her view as expected very shock (TE) it ACC

sekuhara to kangaeta wake ne.
sexual harassment COMP thought EXP RAPP

(16) *de dakara sore o uttaeta-n-desho, kekkyoku.*
then because it ACC sued-n -CONF eventually

(17) *sono saiban ga doo natta ka wa wakannai kedo*
it law-suit NOM how turned out COMP CONT know(NEG) EXP

(18) Int.: *demo sore mukashi no hanashi na-n-desho?*
but it old MODI story-n -CONF

(19) Yoko:*mukashi no koto da yo. soo da yo.*
old MODI affair COP VOC so COP VOC

(20) Int.: *demo ima uttaeta no?*
but now sued Q

(21) Yoko:*demo ima mondai ni natteru kara soo na-n-daroo ne.*
but now problem STAT because so-n -CONJ SHAR

(22) Int.: *hee, sore nanoni, daitooryoo ni nareta-n-da.*
Gee so instead President DAT became-n-COP

(23) Yoko:*soo mitai ne. wakannai kedo.*
so looks RAPP know NEG but

Discourse 3 (Yoko-Empress) in Japanese

(1) Yoko: *kekkonshita toki nanka fukkurashiteta janai?*
got married when somewhat plump (PAST) NEG-Q

(2) *ima wa hora hoho mo koketeru shi*
now CONT you know cheek sunken(STAT)

(3) *soo ieba ibirareta -tte iu hanashi mo kiita koto ga aru*
so COND teased(PASS) QUOT story also have heard

naa.
(self-talk)

(4) *kooshitsu ni haitte, hora, ano hito*
Imperial Family DES join(TE) you know that person

hajimetedatta deshoo, minkan no hito to shite wa ne
first(PAST) NEG-Q civilian as CONT RAPP

(5) *soo-iu-no de shuutome toka kojuuto toka*
such and such because mother-in-law etc. sisters-in-law etc.

shinsekikankei toko ne, soo-iu-no de kooshitsu no
relatives etc. such and such because Imperial Family MODI

naka de zuibun iroiro yaridama ni agerarete
inside LOC much various singled-out-for-criticism(PASS)(TE)

ibirareta -tte hanashi wa kiita koto aru kedo
teased(PASS) QUOT story CONT have heard but

(6) *hontoo ka dooka shiranai*
true whether know(NEG)

(7) *josei-sebun toko soo-iu-no ne*
"Josei Seven" etc. such NML RAPP

Discourse 4 (Yuko-Aum Cult) in Japanese

(1) Yuko: *aa, soo. ano hito ga ichiban nante iu no, yoosuruni*
Well so that person NOM most what shall I say in short

tsukutta ?
made

(2) *sarin o tsukutte yoosuruni jibun de maita -tte*
Sarin ACC make(TE) in short self INS scattered QUOT

iu ka.
say I wonder

(3) *yoosuruni kagakusha* ?
in short scientist

(4) *hotondo ga daigaku no toki ni soo-iu bunya o*
most NOM univ. MODI time TEMP such field ACC

senmon to shite yatteta hito-tachi ?
major as make(TE) did(GER) people

(5) *dakara tabun tabun-tte iu ka yoosuruni kenkyuu* ?
therefore probably probably-COMO I wonder in short research

(6) *daigaku no* *kenkyuujo-tte* *shikin ga* *amari nai*
univ. POSS research center-QUOT fund NOM much NEG

kara
because

(7) *kekkyoku jibun* *ga* *ima* *yatteru-no* *o* *nandemo* *sukinayooni*
eventually self NOM now doing-NML ACC whatever as pleased

tsukur-asete *ageru-tte iu* *jooken* *de* *yappari* *soo-iu-no*
make-CAUS give-QUOT condition INS as expected such NML

ga *haitta* *riyuu* *ga* *soo-iu-no* *mo* *aru-n-janai-ka* *to*
NOM entered reasons NOM such NML also exist-n-NEG-COMP

wa *iwareteru* *kedo ne*
CONT say(PASS)(STAT) but RAPP

(8) *hora, sono, shuukyoo toka* *iu-no* *wa* *un-nun to shite,*
well well religion etc. QUOT NML CONT such and such

betsu to shite ne, soo janaika to *mo* *iwareteiru* *no* *ne.*
besides so-NEG-Q COMP also say(PASS)(STAT) VOC RAPP

(9) *dakara* *kenkyuu shitakute* *daigaku de* *wa* *daigakuin*
therefore reserch want (TE) univ. LOC CONT grad.school

toka *de* *benkyooshiteru* *ijoo-ni* *motto benkyoo shitai-tte iu*
such as INST study(STAT) more than more study want-QUOT

ishi *to iu no* *toka mo atte* *itta-n-janai ka to* *mo*
desire QUOT NML etc also exist(TE) went-n-NEG Q COMP also

iwareteiru *no* *ne.*
say(PASS)(STAT) VOC RAPP

(10) *dakara* *moo* *toppu reberu no* *kagakusha-tte-iu* *ka...*
therefore EMP top level MODI scientist -COMP-call I wonder

Discourse 8 (Yoshio-Michael Jackson) in Japanese

(1) Yoshio:*maikeru jakuson* *ga* *juusansai no* *otokonoko o*
Michael Jackson NOM 13 years-old boy ACC

tsurekonde (unclear)
bring in (*te*)

(2) *nani shita-n ka na? nani shitatte, nanka* *seishikini wa* *happyoo*
what did Q what did(TE) somewhat officially CONT announce

sarete-nai kedo *"child molestation"* (noun ending) (unclear)
PASS NEG but child molestation

.
.

(3) *sono otokonoko ga beddo de konna koto o sareta*
that boy NOM bed LOC like this matter ACC did (PASS)

toka itte,
etc. say (*te*) (unclear)

(4) *uttae o motteitte,* (unclear)
claim ACC bring (*te*)

(5) *moo sorosoro keijisaiban ni naroo-kana-tte iu chokuzen*
yet shortly criminal trial DAT become Q QUOT just before

de wakai ga seiritsu -shite (unclear)
TEMP conciliation NOM establish(*te*)

(6) *de, okane, wan milion ka tuu milion ka moratte* (unclear)
then money one million or two million or receive(*te*)

(7) *fairu wa nakatta koto ni shita kedomo* (unclear)
filing CONT happened(NEG) NML DAT made but

(8) *demo dakara sono ko kara no uttae wa nakatta kedo*
but because that boy from MODI charge CONT happened(NEG) but

ima keisatsu gawa ga nanka kenji gawa to shite
now the police side NOM somewhat prosecuters side as

sore o saiban ni motteiku toka doono-koono
that ACC trial DES bring(TE) such such and such

yattoru to omou (unclear)
do(GER) COMP **think**

.
.
.

(9) Int.: By the way, do you know something about the relationship between Michael Jackson and Elizabeth Taylor?

(10) Yoshio:*iya nanka, naka ga ii kedo* (direct)
well somewhat relationship NOM good but

(11) Yoshio:*nanka maikeru jakuson ga, sono, saibanzata ni*
somewhat Michael Jackson NOM well trial matter

nari hajimete tuaa o ichinichi futsuka yooroppa de
become start(TE) tour ACC one day two days Europe LOC

yatte, de nokori kyanserushite (unclear)
do(TE) then the rest cancel(*te*)

(12) *amerika ni kaetta-ka-na tte ittotta kedo jitsuwa*
America LOC returned Q COMP said(STAT) but as a mater of fact

kaette-nakute (unclear)
return NEG(*te*)

(13) *erizabesu teilaa no uchi ni chotto maa otte* (unclear)
Elizabeth Tayler POSS house LOC little well stay(*te*)

(14) *aa, jitsuwa koko ni otta-n-desu-yo-tte nanka*
Oh, as a matter of fact here LOC stayed-n- COP VOC COMP somewhat

ni shuukan go gurai ni hyokotto kaettekita
two weeks after about TEMP unexpectely returned

to iu hanashi.... (indirect)
QUOT story

An Investigation of Student Opinions and Educational Experiences in Spanish for Heritage Speakers at Arizona State University and the University of Arizona

THERESA REBER
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While many studies have looked at language programs which serve heritage speakers of that language, it is less common to find documentation of the opinions of the students in those programs. The research on attitudes of this population often investigates opinions toward language varieties and their speakers. The purpose of this study is to examine students' beliefs regarding educational options for Spanish for Heritage Speakers (SHS). This is especially important since a program which concurs with the perceived needs of students can best serve that population. One of the most frequently discussed questions in regards to SHS instruction is when such courses should be offered. There is disagreement about the appropriate level as well as the amount of time which should be devoted to such courses. Secondly, many curriculum developers have debated the content of these courses. They often refer to teaching "standard" language as opposed to regional varieties spoken in the area of instruction. This paper will first discuss these two issues in general with reference to both research and popular opinion. Following that brief outline is a discussion of the study we conducted through questionnaires at Arizona State University and the University of Arizona. The paper concludes with a discussion of the results we obtained.

INTRODUCTION

While many studies have looked at language programs which serve heritage speakers of that language, it is less common to find documentation of the opinions of the students in those programs. The research on attitudes of this population often investigates opinions toward language varieties and their speakers (Ornstein, 1982; Galindo, 1995). The purpose of this study was to examine students' beliefs regarding educational options for Spanish for Heritage Speakers (SHS). This is especially important since a program which concurs with the perceived needs of students can best serve that population. One of the most frequently discussed questions in regards to SHS instruction is when such courses should be offered. There is disagreement about the appropriate level as well as the amount of time which should be devoted to such courses. Secondly, many curriculum developers have debated the content of these courses. They often refer to teaching "standard" language as opposed to regional varieties spoken in the area of instruction. This paper will first discuss these two issues in general with reference to both

research and popular opinion. Following that brief outline is a discussion of the study we conducted through questionnaires at Arizona State University and the University of Arizona. The paper concludes with a discussion of the results we obtained.

HISTORY OF SHS COURSES

Spanish for heritage speakers (SHS) courses have seen immense growth over the past twenty years as the numbers of Spanish speakers enrolled in schools in the United States have greatly increased (Merino & Samaniego, 1993; Rodríguez Pino & Villa, 1994). SHS courses differ from traditional Spanish language courses in that in regular language courses, the goal is language acquisition. In SHS courses, the goal is to refine already existing language skills. In elementary schools, the teaching of SHS focuses primarily on the acquisition of a child's first language as an academic language. English as a second language is also introduced as part of the instruction in Spanish (Cummins, 1981; Merino, Trueba, & Samaniego, 1993). SHS in secondary schools has traditionally been considered to be an extension of teaching Spanish as foreign language (Valdés-Fallis, 1974). Often courses in at least one other content area (other than formal language) of the "required curriculum, anthropology, government or multicultural education" are also offered (Merino, Trueba, & Samaniego, 1993). The two main approaches with older learners at high school and college levels are "the limited normative approach" which centers on correcting "errors" in the variety of Spanish spoken in the student's community (Rodríguez Pino & Villa, 1994; Valdés-Fallis, 1978) and the "comprehensive approach" which aims to increase the students' language skills through literacy (Valdés, Lozano, & García-Moya, 1981).

The traditional approach for teaching rural nonstandard speakers in the Spanish speaking world has been the limited normative approach (Merino & Samaniego, 1993; Valdés-Fallis, 1978). In this approach, the most common features of nonstandard dialect are chosen and then contrasted with the standard forms, and oral and written exercises emphasizing their use are provided for practice. Errors are most commonly made up of dialectal differences that are not considered to be part of the systematic dialect variation of educated native speakers in that region.

From 1945-1960 the SHS course at New Mexico State University (NMSU) was titled "Corrective Spanish," and the course description stated that this course was for "Spanish American students only. Especially designed for those who speak Spanish, but who need drills in grammar, reading and diction *to correct errors common to New Mexican Spanish*." In 1962 the title changed to "Remedial Spanish," and the description remained the same but dropped the part about correcting errors. In 1968 the course title changed to "Spanish for Spanish Speaking Students," and the description read "For Spanish speaking students only. Exercises in grammar, speech correction and vocabulary building." Finally in 1975, "speech correction" was dropped from the course description (Rodríguez Pino

& Villa, 1994). The book *Español para el Bilingüe* (Barker, 1972) was developed in the United States as a result of the limited normative approach in the attempt to assist the Heritage speaker of Spanish (HS) in learning "correct" Spanish. Barker's approach suggested direct error correction and emphasized that dialectal differences are structures to be avoided. This approach seemed to separate HS students from their own Spanish-speaking communities as it often tended to lessen the value of their parents' language (Faltis, 1984).

As a result of Labov's study of black English varieties in the United States (1972) and of Chicano linguists' descriptions of *Chicano Spanish* (Sánchez, 1972), the comprehensive approach was introduced (Valdés-Fallis, 1974). This approach uses the standard variety of Spanish as the medium of instruction and of sharing ideas about topics of interest to the students (Faltis & DeVillar, 1993). It is suggested that if bilingual students are provided with instruction on skills and practice in speaking, reading, and writing about a variety of topics, they will develop standard Spanish. Textbooks have been written in accordance with the comprehensive approach for use in SHS courses to promote literacy skills in standard Spanish by providing opportunities to speak, read, and write about topics of interest to students (Valdés-Fallis & Teschner, 1984; Valdés, Hannum & Teschner, 1982). The comprehensive approach attempts to extend students' skills in Spanish in a natural way and is based on Krashen's (1981) theory of second language acquisition which emphasizes the content of the utterance rather than the correctness of the form being used. Further, it attempts to create a linguistic awareness that helps students recognize formal levels of Spanish while simultaneously introducing instruction in the four skills and grammar. This instruction is generally designed to meet the *specific* needs of Hispanics in the United States (Hidalgo, 1993).

Faltis (1990) notes that although the limited normative and comprehensive approaches differ significantly, both encourage learning *about* the language before using it for communicative purposes and both are based on a teacher-centered knowledge base. Faltis (1990) suggests that the student should have an active role in the learning process rather than a passive role as is implied in teacher-centered courses (see also Faltis & DeVillar, 1993).

Many public schools and universities cannot afford to offer SHS courses or lack the specialized personnel to offer them. In 1993, SHS courses could be found at Florida International University, Arizona State University, The University of Arizona, The University of New Mexico, New Mexico State University, and The University of Texas at El Paso (Hidalgo, 1993), and it is likely that SHS courses are offered now at other institutions.

CONTENT OF SHS COURSES

It is probable that students in SHS courses at universities will receive instruction based on the comprehensive approach (Hidalgo, 1993). In addition to formal language instruction and the four skills, activities in the SHS classroom should be

relevant to the students' interests and goals and to life in their Spanish speaking communities (Sánchez, 1981). Once the goals and objectives for SHS courses are established, textbooks and approaches used in these courses should be selected to reflect those goals and to encourage attainment of them. Sánchez (1981) points out that SHS courses may be the only places where Hispanic students can go to discuss topics that standard university courses never address.

One important variable in determining student needs in SHS courses is when they first received instruction in Spanish geared towards HS's. Although we believe that bilingual education is especially important at all levels of education, the reality of American public schools does not reflect this. If students have received adequate instruction at earlier levels, they may be more interested in learning historical and cultural aspects of Spanish speaking communities, whereas if they have not received language instruction they may be more likely to expect to learn basic language skills. Because of this, it will be interesting to see if our study reveals different foci as a result of prior instruction and educational opportunities.

PLACEMENT IN SHS COURSES

According to D'Ambruoso (1993), in universities, Heritage speakers of Spanish are not automatically placed in SHS courses because they can understand and speak a little Spanish or because they have a Spanish name. These students should exhibit advanced linguistic ability in Spanish. Once in the SHS courses, students are grouped according to their needs, and courses are suggested for each group (D'Ambruoso, 1993). Students are generally satisfied with the realization that they are refining their knowledge of Spanish similarly to how they refine their English skills. SHS courses help students appreciate their language and culture as part of their identity, and this helps students develop positive self-esteem (D'Ambruoso, 1993). Some researchers even believe that without a command of one's own language, ethnic identity and the feeling of belonging to a group are virtually impossible (Trueba, 1993).

STANDARD LANGUAGE

While it is clear that SHS programs and funding have grown in recent years, there is still a great uncertainty about what the curriculum for these programs should include. One current topic of discussion is whether 'standard' language or regional varieties should be taught. Some activists have charged that neglecting the regional variety adds to its already diminished status. Since both popular belief and many academics support the instruction of 'standard' language in SHS classes, it is important to evaluate how this distinction arose. After a discussion of how attitudes towards Latin American Spanish as non-standard arose, we will evaluate what differences actually exist. The discussion will focus on Mexico and Mexican-American Spanish when possible since this is relevant for the population which we surveyed. Not only are the features of Mexican-

American Spanish important but also the definition of the "Standard" to which it is being compared will be investigated. Finally, this section concludes with a discussion of the implications of these differences on college teaching of Spanish to Native Speakers.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES

Although theoretical linguists such as Chomsky base their work on the linguistic knowledge of the ideal speaker in a homogeneous speech community, sociolinguists have shown that for every language there are many speech communities, none of which is truly homogeneous (Wolfram, 1991). Within speech groups, speakers may vary their language use according to certain personal features such as gender and social class as well as to certain contextual features such as the formality of the situation. Since the recognition of such variation, many researchers have attempted to document the varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin America and evaluate whether they are really so different from the Castilian Spanish of Spain.

The investigation of Latin American Spanish dates back to the conquistadors of the 1500's. Since these explorers brought Spanish with them to the new world, they were responsible for determining the language base in Latin America. Hidalgo (1990) points out that since there was a high proportion of bureaucrats and nobles included in the colonizing groups, they most likely brought a language base very similar to that considered 'standard' on the Iberian Peninsula. In fact, due to the desire to establish themselves as the upper class in the New World, settlers frequently imposed the same rigid standards of language in order to assert their position of power. This was reinforced by the then popular belief that Spanish was the language spoken by those who "conquered, read and believed in God" (Hidalgo, 1990). Thus, language was a tool for social power and the language spoken in Latin America was nearly identical to and certainly as "proper" as that spoken in Spain.

Despite the fact that there was little actual difference in the languages spoken on the two continents, attitudes of those in Spain were often disparaging towards those who lived in the less civilized New World. This is shown in the quotation below:

"It has been assured for centuries that the language of peasants, common persons or the vulgo is corrupted language. Because it was also assumed that the Conquest was an enterprise undertaken by the vulgo (peasants, soldiers, sailors), the ideas that there were many Latin American vulgar dialects - similar to the vernaculars spoken in the Roman Empire - circulated widely in Spain" (Hidalgo, 1990, p. 52)

Thus, the attitude that there exists "standard" Spanish and substandard Spanish is not a new one. Latin America finds itself in a strange position of wanting to maintain the tradition of pure written Spanish while struggling to show its independence through empowerment of its own varieties. The desire to maintain the standard form of the language is seen in the establishment of the Academies in Latin

America which are modeled after Spain's Royal Academy. As a result of these academies, each country does have certain features which are specific to that area while maintaining the basic features common to all Spanish speakers. More importantly, while there are clear differences between Latin American Spanish and Castilian Spanish, it is also important to note that educated people from all Spanish speaking communities have many characteristics in common and do not differ so much from each other as they do from the lower class in each of their respective countries (Lope Blanche, 1983).

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN SPANISH

As shown above, all Spanish speaking countries have more in common with each other than they have significant differences. Since this is the case, it is important to ask the question: Is there really any difference at all? The purpose of this section is to discuss the actual features which characterize Chicano Spanish because there are in fact certain variations which do describe speech in the Southwest.

In terms of phonological variation, the characteristic which best characterizes Latin American Spanish is the change from pronunciation of /c,z/ as /ø/ to /s/. This, however, is not particular to Mexican-American Spanish. In fact, nearly all Spanish speakers in the Americas share this feature. Hidalgo (1987) and Sánchez (1983) cite other characteristics as regional variations such as reduction of diphthongs (*pues* as /pos/), diphthongization of *hiatos* (*día* as /dja/), and the simplification of consonant clusters (*doctor* as /dotor/). Both reductions and simplifications are found in many informal varieties.

There are also examples in the works cited above of morphological variation. Among these is the addition of the letter *-s* which is generally associated with the second person singular form, to the second person singular form in the preterit where it is not necessary (i.e. *dijistes* vs. *dijiste* 'you said'). This shows a trend for generalization which is common in nearly all languages. Another characteristic is the substitution of the letter *n* for the letter 'm' in the first person plural forms of the imperfect tense. This change is also intuitive since the pronoun for the first person plural is *nos*.

Syntactic variation is also found in Mexican-American Spanish, although less frequently than other types of variation. One example of language change in progress is that Chicano Spanish is shifting the way in which it distinguishes its two verbs which mean 'to be' (*ser* and *estar*). What is interesting about this is that it is *estar* that is being used more frequently than *ser*. If influence of English were responsible for this change it would be more logical that *ser* be the more popular form since it is more similar in form to English. This is seen in the forms 'is' and *es* which both have the same meaning. This similarity has been used to explain why second language speakers of Spanish transfer English and thus overgeneralize the form *ser* to a number of inappropriate contexts at early stages of development (VanPatten, 1987).

A final type of variation which can characterize many different varieties of Spanish is lexical variation. Due to the influence of Native peoples, the Spanish of Latin America includes many words which come from native languages like Nahuatl spoken by the Aztecs. Many plants, vegetables and food items have different names in many countries. One example of a word which comes from Nahuatl is 'chocolate.' Clearly this word has made its way into many regions and many languages other than Spanish and is not particular to Mexico.

Another source of lexical variation is the contact that Mexican-American speakers of Spanish have with English and American culture. One example of this type of influence is the addition of the word 'lonche' to the Spanish lexicon. This is not a simple borrowing, nor is it evidence of the replacement of the Spanish word by an English one since the original word for 'lunch' in Spanish, 'almuerzo', can be used to refer to a large mid-day meal. Although English does influence some aspects of Chicano Spanish, it is important to note that many of the variations previously described can be explained by processes such as generalization and reduction which are common in many languages and in Spanish where there is no contact with other languages.

DEFINING STANDARD

Given the historical origin of language attitudes, and the fact that the variation found in Chicano Spanish is not as great as its similarities with other varieties, it is clear that both those who support and criticize the instruction of standard varieties in SHS classes need to define standard before their recommendations are meaningful. One reason that standard is so difficult to define is that it is often compared to or defined with respect to other varieties. In fact one of the most commonly perceived definitions of standard is the variety of the region which has risen to a position of prestige as a result of trivial linguistic differences but significant power issues. One difficulty with this is that the differences between certain varieties of one language such as Chinese are greater than the differences between certain languages like Swedish and Danish which are considered to be different languages (Hidalgo, 1987). Thus, we lack a concrete definition for variety and this does not help to define what standard language is.

A second problem with the above definition of standard is that, in the case of Spanish, the definition of standard may be more related to economic status than to regional variables. This means that educators need to be clear about whether it is the region or the social class that is stigmatized. Furthermore, the definition of standard needs to be explicit for each program which states this as one of its goals. In addition, curriculum developers need to be aware of the judgments they are making when they use the term standard. Fromkin and Rodman (1983) define Standard American English as an idealized variety. They say, "Nobody speaks this dialect, and if somebody did we wouldn't know it because Standard American English isn't defined precisely" (p. 251).

As with English, there is no clear definition of standard and so each curriculum plan which includes this notion must be specifically explained.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHERS

Despite the fact that standard is not well defined, it is a central issue for educators. The sociolinguistic meaning behind this term is language which is not stigmatized. Thus, teaching a standard variety is based on the acknowledgment that there are attitudes associated with certain salient language features. Among those who support the teaching of a standard variety are those who claim that standard speech is useful to improve a student's chances at occupational and general success. Some who make this claim take the traditional view that they need to purge students of varieties which are not standard. This is justified by claiming that the prestige variety is the common communicational vehicle for art, literature, science and technology. This group claims that non-standard varieties have restricted daily functions which hinder its use in the fields mentioned above (Hidalgo, 1987).

Since the above argument resembles the debate against bilingual education, this opinion may not serve the Hispanic population as it should. In fact, Ammon (1977) showed that for Swabian speakers (in southeast Germany), the imposition of the standard variety and a total disregard for the home variety is more academically, economically and psychologically detrimental than it is beneficial. Nevertheless, there are others who have suggested that the standard language be used in a variety of ways which may be more beneficial.

One such suggestion, supported for Black students by linguists such as Labov, Shuy and Wolfram, is the use of bidialectal education. Under this type of curriculum, both the standard variety and the regional variety are used in class. The rationale for this type of approach is similar to that which supports L1 literacy for children: It is harmful to halt development by imposing a new way of communicating and students benefit from continued use of their native tongue while they work to add a second language/variety. Hidalgo describes this approach by saying that "students are made aware of style and register appropriateness and when they begin to write they are taught which forms are peculiar to casual rapid speech and which are accepted in writing." (p. 381). This approach does not discourage communication while it does enhance the development of the more formal speech norms.

Other characteristics of bidialectal education involve the content of the courses offered at the university. In addition to the register awareness mentioned above, students are taught the origins of the regional differences and made aware of which regional differences are accepted by educated speakers in that area. This is important because it acknowledges both social class and region and does not confound the two. Hidalgo (1987) also suggests that merely increasing the literacy level of students and maintaining a conservative mode of speech will cause students to learn how to use new

variations without harming their own progress linguistically and psychologically. She suggests that a text-oriented class will be especially beneficial for these reasons.

One other recommendation is especially relevant in light of the features of Chicano Spanish described above. That is, it is not necessary to include all of the differences discussed above in the curriculum. For example, with the exception of pointing out which phonological peculiarities create problems for spelling, pronunciation should not be the key focus of the class. This seems valid since in English, pronunciation is usually considered regional and it is morphological information which is more indicative of social variables. In addition, it is not necessary to focus on lexical items since according to Hidalgo "lexical items may create confusion but don't necessitate focus since they are rarely stigmatized" (p. 389). Although we are aware of some lexical items which are stigmatized (i.e., *no más* instead of *solo*), for the most part this advice seems sound. Paying less attention to lexical items frees time to focus on morphological variations, which are apparently highly stigmatized and also very important for writing.

Bidialectal education, when considered in conjunction with these recommendations, can make use of standard language without the requirement of a universal definition. It is also able to account for both economic and regional variation. This is because this methodology would focus on certain aspects of standard language while encouraging use of the variety with which students are already familiar. In contrast with the "eradication" view, this type of approach is more in tune with research on bilingual education.

THE STUDY

The purpose of our study was to investigate student opinions regarding the two issues discussed above: availability of SHS courses and their content. The questionnaire used to illicit information from students is included in the appendix. The first questions ask for information such as gender, age, first language and place of birth. The next group of questions established from what generation the speakers of Spanish derived and how many of their family members spoke Spanish to them. Finally, a series of questions aimed at determining what the subjects' prior experience with SHS courses had been was included. These questions asked subjects to tell when they had received instruction in Spanish, at what levels and for which academic subjects. While none of this information is the focus of the study, it is important in order to group subjects and assess similarities. This class of information enables us to generalize among groups within the students in SHS courses. It may also help to explain any disparities in student opinions which are found.

The questions which followed were aimed at attaining information relevant to the two areas of interest in this investigation. Not only were subjects asked to respond to whether they felt SHS courses should be offered, they were also asked to respond to questions about the level at

which these courses should be offered (item 20). They were asked to explain why they felt this was appropriate. The answers to this item constitute the basis for discussion of the first issue. Subjects were also asked what they felt should be included in SHS courses (item 21). They were asked to respond by selecting from a list of possible curriculum options and then explain which of those was the most important (item 22). We did not include the term *standard* among these choices since the discussion above demonstrates that many conflicting definitions exist. Instead we included *grammar* and *formal language* and also allowed subjects to write in other choices. The hope was that the term *grammar* would coincide with students' perception of morphological and syntactic issues and that *formal language* might correspond with lexical and discourse information. Finally, subjects were asked what they liked most about the SHS program and what they would like to change or add. We considered this question another way to elicit information about the students' opinions of SHS offerings and content.

METHOD

We administered the questionnaire described above to two classes at the University of Arizona and one at Arizona State University. Two courses were beginning language courses, and one was a literature course for future bilingual teachers. Because of the continuing battle which sometimes surrounds the funding for SHS programs, we were not able to gain access to additional classes. In the past, class observations and interviews have been distorted and used to threaten the security of this program. As a result, many instructors are protective of their classes and their students. The SHS instructors were asked to give the questionnaire to students in class and give them time to complete each question. The questionnaires were then returned to us. The researchers were never in contact with the subjects and thus neither the purpose of the investigation nor the items of interest were discussed with participants. All questionnaires were completed within a two week period during the month of October, 1996. The total number of subjects from the University of Arizona was twenty-nine and the total number from Arizona State University was twenty-one.

RESULTS

The first portion of the questionnaire provided information on students' characteristics and home language background. The results from the Arizona State University and the University of Arizona are shown in separate columns. The information from some questions has been grouped into a single figure so the table does not match the questionnaire directly. Table 1 provides important information for interpreting further data.

Of the data presented above certain characteristics seem to be noteworthy. For example, thirty-six of the fifty subjects were born in the United States. Since many people oppose funding for SHS classes on the basis of their perception that students in those courses are not US

Table 1
Subject Variables

Characteristics	Arizona State	Univ. of AZ.
Total number of subjects	21	29
Number of females	10	20
Average age	19.6	26.4
Range of ages	18 to 26	17 to 57
Subjects born in the United States	11	25
Born in Spanish-speaking countries	10	4
Spoke English as L1	2	6
Wrote English as L1	14	22
Spoke Spanish as L1	18	20
Have a different L1	0	1-Chinese
Both parents are HSs	18	18
One parent is HS	3	9
Neither parent is HS	0	2 - Guam./Chin.
All four grandparents are HSs	19	20
Three grandparents are HSs	1	1
Two grandparents are HSs	1	6 Ar., It., Fr.,NA.
One grandparent is HS	0	1
No grandparents are HSs	0	1 - Chin.

Note: Students who cited speaking both English and Spanish as L1 not included.

citizens, this is a very important statistic. Of all subjects, only eight spoke English before they entered school. In contrast, thirty-six subjects learned to write in English first. One surprising fact is that while thirty-six subjects had two NS parents, only thirty-nine had four NS grandparents. This is surprising since a generational model of assimilation would predict that the number of students with four NS grandparents would be much higher than the number with two NS parents.

The next set of data represents the subjects' educational experience. They were asked to explain when they began attending American public schools and at what point, if any, they received instruction in Spanish which was appropriately geared towards Heritage Speakers. The section of the chart which shows how many students received some sort of instruction for Heritage Speakers in public schools is the combination of information from a few questionnaire items. This information is shown below in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that eighty percent of our subjects (40) attended American public schools. Of those students, only eight spoke English before entering the school system.

Table 2
School History

Characteristics	Arizona State	Univ. of AZ
Attended US schools for all grades	18	22
US schools after elementary school	0	2
Other	1- after 2nd grade 1- after 4th grade	1-after 3rd grade 1-Am. Catholic
Knew English before school	6	11
Knew only Spanish before school	7	10
Knew some English and Spanish	8	8
Received some instruction for HSs	4	5
Subjects taught in Spanish outside language classes:	Math, Religion, English, History	Art, P.E., Geography

Despite the possible demand for instruction in Spanish and for bilingual education, demonstrated by the groups of students in Table 2 who were monolingual in Spanish before school or who knew only some English, only nine of our subjects actually received any type of SHS instruction. This shows a large pool of potential students for education in Spanish in the school systems who did not receive this such instruction. This may have important implications for the second portion of the questionnaire where subjects are asked for their opinions regarding SHS courses.

The third section of the questionnaire was designed to access information about subjects' opinions regarding when SHS instruction should be offered. Subjects were asked to decide when the earliest point for this instruction should be and explain their answers. The results from this section are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 shows that thirty-three of the subjects, two-thirds of the entire group, felt that SHS instruction should be offered as early as possible. The reasons they give are similar to many research findings. Some examples are that it isimportant to nurture the homelanguage in order to ensure success, bilingualism is an advantage for all students, and success in L1 is necessary in order to achieve success in L2. Although no subject opposed offering SHS courses at any point, fifteen of the subjects felt that it would be better to offer SHS instruction at a later point. Some of the reasons for this were fear of confusion, and fear of failure to acquire English adequately thus leading to problems later in life. Taken in their strictest form, these opinions seem to oppose research findings and support certain popular

Table 3
What Is the Earliest SHS Courses Should be Offered?

Level	ASU	UofA	Sample Comments
elementary	11	22	(ASU)friends speak Spanish; success in school more likely; become "useful" citizens; already familiar with Spanish; correct "bad grammar" early; associate with home language and culture early;(UofA)bilingual is an advantage; build on what students already know early; easier to learn young; more years of practice; nurture what is learned at home; learn native language in order to succeed in L2; student population becoming more diverse--necessary for achievement
middle	4	5	(ASU)already fluent in English;learn English correctly first;(UofA)grow up more and can handle two languages; conflict at earlier stages; crucial time in learning; most interested in learning; acquire formal skills
high	5	0	(ASU)already know English; have to know English to get by in the US can learn Spanish later
college	1	0	(ASU) other schools aren't financed for it earlier

convictions. These opinions do, however, express one important point: that if instruction in English is not as good as that in Spanish then students will suffer educationally. It seems possible to accommodate their concerns while still offering earlier instruction in Spanish.

Table 4 shows subject opinions about what should be taught in these courses. As mentioned earlier, the results may be influenced by the fact that few of these students received SHS instruction before college. The table shows which subjects students felt should be included and which they thought were most important. The column marked 'priority' represents responses to the question, "Which of the topics selected above are most important?"

The results above show that grammar is clearly the main area of interest of these subjects. The second most important subject area is formal language. Thus, as we predicted, these topics coincide with the morphological and lexical features mentioned by Hidalgo (1987). These are the areas which are considered most salient by these subjects and thus the ones they would like to correct in order to be more successful after college in the job market. Culture and History were also considered important getting ten and nine votes

Table 4
What Should be Taught and What Is Most Important?

	Arizona State		Univ. of AZ.	
Subject	Should teach	Priority	Should teach	Priority
grammar	21	11	27	16
the arts	15	0	19	0
history	21	7	25	2
literature	19	0	24	3
culture	20	3	26	7
politics	12	0	18	0
formal lang.	20	4	27	10
Chicano lang.	13	0	15	0
Other	2-all subjects		2-sciences 1-native lang. 1-math	
comments:				-Pochismo is the first lang. that should be corrected -formal lang. is important in the real world

respectively. It is likely that if these students had received morelanguage instruction at earlier levels they would be more interested in these topics. The topics that were not considered to be of primary impor-tance were art, literature, politics and Chicano language. This is interesting since they comprise a large portion of the curriculum where this study was conducted. Perhaps earlier instruction that focused on language form would allow students to focus on topics such as art and politics at the college level.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate student attitudes in regards to SHS courses provided at the University level. Our questionnaire provided information about subjects' backgrounds, educational histories and their opinions about when SHS courses should be offered and what they should teach. While there are some subjects who do not agree with the trends presented in this data, there are clear patterns among subjects. One third of the subjects were born in the United States but went to public schools knowing only Spanish. They did not receive SHS/bilingual instruction.

They believe that SHS courses should be offered as early as elementary school and that formal language instruction with a focus on grammar should be the priority of the curriculum. What is important about these results is that they confirm what other researchers have shown and thus research results may be applied to better serving this community of students.

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APPENDIX - THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello! We are interested in learning your opinions about language instruction. Please fill out this questionnaire with as much information as possible. If there is something else you would like to add in addition to answering the questions, please feel free to do so. Thank you very much for your help. ¡Le agradecemos!

1. How old are you?
2. What is your gender?
3. What course are you enrolled in?
4. Where were you born?
5. What is the first language you learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
6. What is the first language you learned to write?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
7. What language do you speak with your family at home?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
8. What is the first language your mother learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
9. What is the first language your father learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
10. What is the first language your father's mother learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
11. What is the first language your father's father learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
12. What is the first language your mother's father learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
13. What is the first language your mother's mother learned to speak?
a. English b. Spanish c. Other _____
14. Did you attend American public schools?
a. no

b. yes, all grades
c. yes, but only for elementary school
d. yes, after elementary school
e. other _____

15. Did you know English before entering kindergarten?
a. no
b. yes, very well
c. yes, some words
d. yes, a few words

16. Were you ever given instruction in Spanish in public school?
a. no
b. yes when I first entered
c. yes in all grades
d. yes in middle school and high school
e. yes in high school

17. Was the instruction above geared towards native speakers of English?
a. no my classes were only for Heritage Speakers
b. yes, nearly all students spoke only English
c. yes, but there were other Heritage Speakers in my classes

18. Besides language skills, what other subjects were you taught about in Spanish (i.e. history)?

19. Was this instruction part of a Spanish class?

20. When is the earliest that a Spanish for Heritage Speakers course should be offered?
a. elementary school
b. middle school
c. high school
d. college/university
e. never

Why? _____

21. What should be taught in SHS courses? (Check all that apply)
_____ grammar
_____ the arts (music, dance, art, etc.)
_____ history
_____ literature
_____ culture
_____ politics
_____ formal language
_____ Chicano language
_____ other (give examples) _____

22. Of all of the choices listed above, which is the most important?

23. What do you like best about the Spanish for Native Speakers program here and what would you like to change or add to the program?

Authentic Foreign Language Testing in a Brazilian University Entrance Exam

ROSANA M. F. CARDOSO

This study analyzes English tests administered in Brazil as part of a University Entrance Exam. It attempts to encompass the considerations about authentic tests of L2 Reading Comprehension, the concept of reading as an interactive process between the reader and the text, a proficiency-based view of language instruction and the psychometric properties of a good test. Two reading tests that explicitly favor authenticity and proficiency are analyzed in two sections. The first one concentrates on the types of questions in both tests and the language skill levels that are tapped by each question according to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. The second part is a reliability study, where the consistency of scores is statistically analyzed in order to determine the overall quality of the tests. The reliability test is also performed to verify the hypothesis that a shorter test is less reliable than a longer one.

INTRODUCTION

Within the last two decades, research on language assessment has increasingly advocated the use of authentic materials (Shohamy & Reves, 1985; Stevenson, 1985; Wiggins, 1994; Young 1993). According to Clark (1975), direct tests (nowadays referred to as "authentic tests") are an attempt to duplicate as closely as possible the circumstances and efficacy of real-life situations. A growing commitment to a proficiency-based view of language learning and instruction brings the necessity of authenticity in all areas of language assessment. Accordingly, tests of L2 Reading Comprehension have been following the same trend, presenting real-life situations in which language proficiency is ordinarily demonstrated (Davis, 1994; Valette, 1994).

Refuting the traditional "indirect tests," which did not tap real-life language but had the advantage of being easily analyzed psychometrically (Shohamy & Reves, 1985), authentic assessment directly examines student performance on intellectual tasks (Wiggins, 1994). The use of authentic materials in reading tests, defined as texts written and read by native speakers in ordinary real-life situations, has been advocated by ESL and FL researchers as a replacement for edited texts (Byrnes, 1987; Swaffar, 1981; Young, 1993). Even though such texts were presumed to ease the students' reading processes, studies reveal that the linguistic simplicity of edited texts can make reading more difficult (Young, 1993).

Reading is considered here an active process where the readers do not merely decode what the text encodes, but they construct text meaning by synthesizing their prior knowledge, which may be linguistic, cognitive or experiential, with textual data. Reading cannot be seen anymore as simple "passive process of extracting meaning from the printed page, but rather as an active and interactive

process in which the reader uses knowledge of the language to predict and create meaning based on the text" (McLeod & McLaughlin, 1986). In all language tests, one of the main concerns should be the relationship and interference among skills. A reading test must tap only the students' reading ability, not writing or listening comprehension, for instance. Donin and Silva (1993) show that, at least at intermediate levels of L2 proficiency, the use of L2 production (writing) tends to underestimate and distort L2 reading comprehension. They also found that the lack of inferencing that has been attributed to L2 comprehension may be a result of the assessment techniques, for example whether the students have to produce responses in L1 or L2. Therefore, this is an issue that deserves great consideration on the part of researchers and test developers.

Another constant preoccupation is the quality of the test, from classroom tests to standardized tests. According to Friedenberg (1995), a good test should be carefully designed and empirically evaluated to ensure that it generates accurate and useful information. The design phase should contain clear definitions about the test's purpose, cover a specific content or domain, and define a set of administration and scoring procedures. The evaluation phase should include collection and analysis of data, which are then used to identify the psychometric properties of the test. Those properties, which are the measurement characteristics of a test, are determined by analyzing responses to test items. A good test is reliable (it provides a consistent measure of current knowledge, skills or characteristics), valid (it indicates whether the test measures what it was designed to measure), and comprises items with good item statistics (the pattern of responses to individual test items is analyzed with the purpose of identifying items in need of revision).

As an attempt to encompass the considerations about authentic tests of L2 Reading Comprehension, the concept of reading as an interactive process between the reader and the text, and the psychometric properties of a good test, this study analyzes an English test administered in Brazil as part of a University Entrance Exam. The State University of Campinas (Unicamp) completely restructured its entrance exam in 1987 and moved away from traditional multiple-choice items towards proficiency-oriented essay questions. The changes affected not only the FL exam, but all subjects. The specific change of the FL Test (Bastos et al., 1993) focuses on measuring the students' reading competence instead of measuring their explicit knowledge of grammar or their writing skills. Aiming for language proficiency instead of knowledge "about" the language, Unicamp's FL Test evaluates explicitly and exclusively the students' reading competence.

A recent change in the exam format (the length of the test was changed from 16 essay questions to 12) raises several issues concerning the overall quality of the test and its psychometric properties. The last 16-question test and the first 12-question test are analyzed in two sections. The first one concentrates on the types of questions in both tests and the language skill levels that are tapped by each question according to the Ameri-

can Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Proficiency Guidelines for Reading. The second part is a reliability study, where the consistency of scores is statistically analyzed in order to determine the overall quality of the tests. The reliability test is also performed to verify the hypothesis that a shorter test is less reliable than a longer one.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

São Paulo State's Unicamp is one of the most distinguished Universities in Brazil. In 1987, "Vestibular Unicamp" (The State University of Campinas' Entrance Exam) was dramatically modified to better fit the new profile of the students the University was hoping to attract. That was a pioneer initiative that would later influence not only many other Brazilian universities to take that same path, but also secondary schools to reshape their curriculum—the "washback effect" discussed by Alderson & Wall (1993) and Peirce (1992).

Unicamp wanted to select applicants who had better analytical abilities. It was the University's belief that students would better reveal such capacity if they had a chance to show their line of reasoning while answering the entrance exams' questions. This would not be possible if Unicamp kept employing the traditional multiple choice tests used until then to select applicants. The solution then was to abandon the traditional multiple choice tests in favor of a more complex and thorough form of evaluation using essay questions on tests of all subject matters of Secondary Level (high school) education.

The objective was then to select students who were able to express themselves clearly, organize ideas, establish relationships, interpret facts and data, and develop explanatory hypotheses in all areas of knowledge. That objective is explicitly declared in the "Manual do Candidato," the Applicant's Manual brochure (Unicamp 1994) published every year by the Special Committee for Entrance Exams (Comissão Permanente para os Vestibulares da Unicamp) to better guide students who will be taking its examinations. This publication also describes the topics of all subject matters that the test will cover.

By giving applicants the opportunity to better demonstrate their knowledge and thus prove their reasoning capabilities, Unicamp makes it clear what it does not expect from its future students: the mere reproduction of information as the result of a passive relationship with knowledge, where they do not need a point of view about what they have learned. Instead, Unicamp wants students who can show their active relationship with knowledge through their writing.

The new entrance exam has two phases (Unicamp, 1994). The first one, mandatory for all applicants, is a four-hour test divided into two parts: one Essay and twelve General Questions (based on the content described in the nationwide Official Secondary Level School Syllabus). The second phase, taken by those applicants who scored in the fiftieth percentile on the first phase, is administered in four consecutive days. Each day is composed of one four-hour test on two

subject matters. Each subject matter test has a total of sixteen questions.

The FL test is administered with the Mathematics test on the last of the four consecutive testing days. The applicants are allowed to choose between English and French. Even though there is a choice between the two languages, both English and French exams are developed and scored according to the same general principles.

The fundamental change consisted of abandoning the traditional way of evaluating a FL in University Entrance Exams in general in Brazil, where the explicit knowledge of grammar was measured, as well as the students' writing skills in the FL. Considering that reading ability in a FL is indispensable in any academic field, Unicamp decided to evaluate the students' reading competence. The new assessment procedure in this area therefore became a test of Reading Comprehension only.

The new test is consistent with the trend of authentic FL tests, aiming for language proficiency instead of knowledge "about" the language (Omaggio-Hadley, 1993). This tendency appeared in the 1970s in response to the artificial circumstances of traditional "indirect" language tests (Shohamy & Reeves, 1985). It finds its place in FL tests in Brazil more than a decade later, and Unicamp was still for many years the only Brazilian university to develop such tests.

The new test utilizes authentic materials, such as newspaper articles, comic strips, ads, and fiction, to name a few. The need of authentic text use in FL reading tests is defended by Shohamy & Reves (1985) and Stevenson (1985) and reinforced by Young (1993). Being an attempt to reproduce circumstances of real-life situations, authentic tests suit well the frame of proficiency-oriented tests.

The students have access to detailed instructions printed in the front cover of their question brochure. The instructions refer to, among other things, the point value of each question and the duration of the test. A total of sixteen questions are asked in Portuguese, and the students are explicitly and clearly instructed to answer them also in Portuguese, the students' native language. Language of assessment in this case does not affect students' ability to demonstrate comprehension, as Wolf (1993a, 1993b) and Donin & Silva (1993) postulate.

Another change in the exam format took place in the 1995 exam. The reasons for the alteration were not made public by the University. The first phase remained unchanged. The second phase tests, however, had their size reduced from 16 essay questions to 12 (Unicamp, 1995). The students still had four hours of total test time and the content of the test was still the same. The applicants were made aware of the change approximately one semester prior to the test date when the Applicant's Manual was published (Unicamp 1995).

As stated earlier, such reduction raises issues concerning the overall quality of the tests, as well as their psychometric properties. Has the shorter test maintained the standards of the previous eight 16-question tests (from 1987 to 1994)? The last 16-question test (administered in 1994, representing all the previous tests) and the first 12-question test (1995) are examined. The analysis concentrates

on the items of both tests and the language skill levels that are tapped by each question according to the ACTFL Reading Proficiency Guidelines. These guidelines are considered an attempt to define and describe levels of functional competence on a FL (Omaggio-Hadley, 1993), and are taken here as the most appropriate tool to gauge FL proficiency.

Furthermore, a reliability study will ultimately determine the quality and effectiveness of the tests. When a test is shortened, its reliability mathematically decreases (Friedenberg, 1995; Anastasi, 1982). Is the shorter test really less reliable than the longer test? If so, how significant is the difference? The effects of the modification of test length on the reliability coefficient are analyzed, as well as the amount of error that can be found in every set of test scores.

ANALYSIS OF TEST ITEMS

The English tests contain a series of authentic texts, taken from various sources, such as newspapers, fiction, poetry, and advertisements. The general instructions and the questions are in Portuguese. The candidates are explicitly instructed to answer all questions in Portuguese. Even though there is no mention regarding the length of answers in the test's general instructions, answers are limited only by the space allotted to each one in the answer brochure.

On both tests, each question is scored on a scale from 0 to 5. However, the total point value of each test is determined by the number of questions: the maximum total score for the 16-question test (1994) is 80 points, and the 1995 exam with 12 questions is worth a total of 60 points.

The test construction and the grading system are of great importance. However, they will not be addressed here. The target of the present study is the test itself and its psychometric properties, not the test construction and grading system.

The translations of the questions into English are appended. Appendix A contains the translation of the 1994 test, and the translation of the 1995 test can be found in Appendix B. The complete original tests in Portuguese are available from the author upon request.

One of the merits of the tests is the fact that both the questions and the answers are in the applicants' native language. The students are not asked to write in the L2, which guarantees there is no skill interference. In fact, it is possible to state that none of the other language skills are required for students to complete the tasks except for their reading competence.

Both tests present a series of authentic texts about which the questions are asked. The 1994 test has two texts about popular science, one excerpt of a short story, one introduction to a novel and one comic strip. The 1995 test contains one small poem, two popular science texts, an excerpt of a novel, one summary of a book, and one advertisement. The 1994 test has fewer, longer texts. The 1995 test has one more text than the previous exam, but they are shorter.

The exams in general seem to be geared towards students' abilities found in ACTFL's Advanced to Superior language skill levels as defined by

the Reading Proficiency Guidelines (ACTFL 1986). The descriptions of those levels given by the guidelines are consistent with the type of student profile the University wants to attract. However, a more detailed inspection of the test items is necessary to verify such a claim.

Question 17 of the 1994 exam ("What is the way found by Calvin to get ten dollars from his father? Explain.") may not be as easy as it seems. Based on a comic strip, the question asks for the explanation of one character's intentions. The drawing is certainly a good support, but it does not give the students all the indications needed to get to a correct answer. In fact, the question itself could be considered a better clue. The students would also have to grasp the humor in the strip and make the character's intentions explicit. A simple translation would not arrive at the correct answer, for it neglects the ironic tone of the episode narrated on strip. The students would have to go beyond the words and interact with the text to get the "correct" interpretation.

Students' sample answers are cited by Victor & Senatore (in press). Example 1 illustrates one possible correct, yet simple answer (sample answers were translated from Portuguese by the author):

(1) "Calvin makes up a story of aliens who ask for ten dollars and he volunteers to take the money to them."

Sample answer 2 shows how one student addressed the humor (the essence of the story) by adding the word "cleverly," without which the answer would be an inadequate translation:

(2) "Calvin says that aliens landed and that they want ten dollars. His father said that he will give them the money, and Calvin cleverly says that his father is busy and volunteers to do him the favor of delivering [the money]."

Another sample answer shows an attempt at translation that considers the father's activity as a hypothesis, not a fact. That interpretation jeopardizes the logic of the story:

(3) "Calvin tells his father that if he is busy washing the car Calvin himself can take the money to the ETs."

Still on the 1994 exam, questions 18 and 19 seem to be simpler. The two questions are related, and their answers can be found in the same paragraph of the text. Question 18 ("Who is 'Grandfather'?") asks for a simple identification of a character. On the other hand, Question 19 ("'No one in Vietnam has a clock as tall as a man.' (quote in English) How does the narrator justify this statement?") is more difficult because it relies on a comparative, as well as on the reference for the pronoun "that" which appears in the next sentence in the text. Based on the same text, Question 20 ("Why does the narrator refer to things from his country to describe Mr. Cohen?") asks for the reason why the narrator uses comparisons to describe a character. This seems to be a more complicated task because getting to an acceptable answer implies understanding the metaphors.

The third text of the 1994 exam is the longest and it has more questions (21 to 26) based on it then on any other text in that exam. The length of the text required more attention on the students' part. The topic of the text

(a new material possibly harder than diamond) may even have overwhelmed them. If the students paid close attention to the content of the text, as pointed out by Alves et al. (in press), they would be able to recognize already known information (for instance, the Mohs scale, which is part of the High School Chemistry curriculum). That way they would be able to resort to a more comfortable and maybe more appropriate bottom-up processing to approach the text. The students could be misled into using inadequate translations as answers, as sample answers 4 and 5 to Question 21 ("In Dr. Lieber's opinion, what makes his work out of the ordinary?") cited by Alves et al. (in press) indicate:

(4) "Generally the experiment precedes the theory; in this case the contrary happens, that is, the experiment falls into the theory."

(5) "In the majority of the cases the theory comes after the practice and now it falls into practice."

In both answers, the students recognized the similarities (phonological and spelling) between "follows" and "falls" and performed an inadequate translation. This is not sufficient as an acceptable answer. Instead of attempting simple translations, the students should be interacting with the text at a deeper level.

The introduction to a novel is the basis for the next set of four questions (27 to 30). The text basically presents descriptions and narration. All four questions are about facts that are present in the text or opinions expressed by the author. The text is very clearly structured and the questions can be easily located by the students, which seems to make this set of questions the least problematic of the test. Unfortunately, no sample answers were available. However, Questions 29 and 30 were the third and fourth highest mean scores (respectively, 3.140 and 3.079 points) observed in the entire test, which seems to be meaningful.

The last two questions (31 and 32) were based on the text titled "Astronomy." Question 31 ("Based on your reading of the text, explain its title.") requires an explanation for the title. To be able to do that, the students needed to show their ability of synthesis. Question 32 ("Attribute a meaning to: (quotes in English) a) 'meander' [paragraph 1, line 7]; b) 'hurling' [paragraph 4, line 9]; c) 'dim' [paragraph 5, line 3]") asked students to infer the meaning of three words taken from the text. The choice of words for the inferences seems to reveal an intention of making the students also summarize the interpretation of the text as a whole. Any interpretation the readers might assign to the text would demand that they attribute some form of meaning to these words.

The first question of the 1995 exam (Question 13) asked the students to explain what the two lines of the extremely short text said ("The following segment was taken from "A Martian Sends a Postcard Home," by Craig Raine. Read it and answer: what is the similarity between the rain and the television, according to the Martian? Rain is when the earth is television. It has the property of making colours darker."). Students had few words to take into consideration in order to get to the answer. They could

also rely on the title of the text where the two lines were taken from (given in English as part of the question) to help them recover a great deal of information in order to achieve an acceptable answer. Sample answers of the 1995 exam were not made available for consideration.

The text for Questions 14 and 15 is a passage that presents certain discoveries in the field of science. Question 14 ("Based on the images obtained by the spacecraft 'Clementine,' what were the discoveries related to: a) moon's valleys and peaks; b) 'The South Pole Aitken Basin'?") is clearly structured and divided into two parts. It is organized to presumably guide the students' reading. This can probably be considered the reason why this was the question with the second highest observed mean score in the whole exam, a mean of 4.004 points. Question 15 ("How useful is it to calculate the depth of the moon's craters?") asks about the utilization of the discoveries referred to in the text. Probably the most complicated task of this question was the recovery of references, for example, the reference of "such craters" in the last paragraph and "them" in "collisions that created them."

Still on the general topic of science, the third text is a technical report that discusses certain modern technologies. Question 16 ("What is needed in order to be possible to use biofuels for cooking or lighting houses?") is about the interpretation of a grammatical structure. Question 17 ("Cite two advantages of those fuels.") asked for two advantages of the use of biofuels, while the text presents more than only two. This question presented the highest observed mean score of the 1995 exam: 4.132 points Question 18 ("Explain the process of obtaining biofuels.") required the students to describe a process, where the challenge was to separate the description itself from the example.

Questions 19 to 21 are about a set of texts, namely, the introduction of a book, an excerpt from one of its chapters, and the epigraph. The first two questions seem to be among the easiest questions in the whole exam, for the answers could be taken from a direct (and relatively simple) examination of the texts. Indeed, the mean scores observed for Questions 19 ("What are the stories of T. W. Burgess about?") and 20 ("What does having a big mouth bring to Grandfather Frog?") were 3.850 and 3.031, respectively the third and the fifth highest mean scores. However, Question 21 ("What made Grandfather Frog think about the word if?") is slightly more complicated. The answer was directly related to the previous question. The title of the chapter and the epigraph in particular can aid the students in finding the answer, as it could be retrieved in the first sentence of the chapter.

A book summary about the anti-drug policy of the Dutch government is the basis for questions 22 and 23. Question 22 ("What induced the Dutch government to adopt its current position related to the fight against drugs?") is rather direct, asking for the identification of the Dutch government's position on drugs. However, Question 23 ("How do the ideas presented in the book conflict with other international institutions' policy of war on drugs?") demands a more complex type of reasoning as it asks about a justification of the disa-

greement between the ideas about fight against drugs presented in the book and other international institutions' policies. In fact, Question 23 shows the lowest observed mean score in the whole test, only 0.935 points. Moreover, it is the lowest observed mean score of the two tests analyzed here.

Finally, Question 24 ("Explain the title of the advertisement.") is based on an advertisement. The students are supposed to explain the title of the advertisement based on its short text. The two pictures and the logo that accompany the text can also be very helpful. Even though this is a short and apparently easy question, the students must be able to derive meanings from extralinguistic knowledge, combined with their own knowledge of the language. The difficulty of this question is substantiated by the students' performance. Question 24 had a mean score of 1.782 points, the third lowest score on the test.

TEST ITEMS AND THE ACTFL GUIDELINES

In order to further assess Unicamp's reading tests, they were compared to ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. After a careful review of the texts on which the questions are based and the test items themselves, it is possible to verify that test questions can be basically placed in three of ACTFL's language skill levels as defined by the Reading Proficiency Guidelines, namely, Advanced, Advanced-Plus and Superior levels. It is imperative to note that the guidelines for reading proficiency assume that all reading texts are authentic and legible (ACTFL, 1986).

The Advanced level characterizes readers who are able to read rather lengthy texts of several paragraphs that are presented with a clearly defined underlying structure. Texts at this level include basically descriptions and narrations, such as short stories, news, bibliographies, correspondence, among others. Comprehension is determined by increasing control of the language, as well as situations and subject matter knowledge.

The texts of the Unicamp tests examined here that have the characteristics of those described for the Advanced level are the texts for questions 18 to 20 and 27 to 30 of the 1994 test, as well as the texts for questions 13 to 15 and 19 to 21 of the 1995 exam. Even though question 13 can be considered as geared towards Advanced level readers, some more attentive Intermediate-High level readers may be able to comprehend the text. While Intermediate-High level texts do not significantly differ from those at the Advanced level, comprehension is less consistent and several readings may be required to achieve comprehension. From a total of 28 questions, 13 (almost half of the test items) can be classified as belonging to the Advanced level of reading proficiency.

Readers placed at the Advanced-Plus level are able to understand parts of texts that are conceptually abstract and linguistically complex, as well as texts that deal with unfamiliar themes and those that involve certain traits of the target culture. Readers at this level can also make pertinent inferences and are able to comprehend a variety of texts, including literary pieces, even though misunderstandings may occur. They

may be even able to follow written discourse at the Superior level in areas of special interest or knowledge with a certain degree of difficulty.

Text for question 17 of the 1994 exam, as well as the one for questions 31 and 32, can be considered at the Advanced-Plus level. In the 1995 test, the texts for questions 16 to 18, 22 and 23 can be regarded as belonging to this level of reading proficiency. A total of 8 questions out of 28 can be placed at this level. The above mentioned texts show some degree of linguistic complexity and/or call for inferences on the readers' part, which are basic characteristics of the Advanced-Plus proficiency level.

Readers at the Superior level are capable of attaining almost full comprehension of texts about unfamiliar subjects. Reading ability is not dependent on subject matter knowledge. Texts at Superior level feature academic and professional texts, characterized by hypotheses, argumentation, and supported opinions. At this level, readers are able to match meanings derived from extralinguistic knowledge with meanings derived from knowledge of the language. Text types at this level include basically a variety of literary texts, editorials, reports, and technical material in professional fields.

The texts found to pertain to the Superior level are the ones for questions 21 to 26 in the 1994 test and the one for question 24 in the 1995 exam. A total of 7 questions (out of 28) are related to texts that require reading strategies and involve some degree of argumentation and hypothesizing.

The hypothesis that the tests are geared towards students whose abilities match ACTFL's Advanced to Superior levels is corroborated by examination of both the test items and the descriptions of the proficiency guidelines for each level. It does not mean that the tests were specially constructed for readers at those levels, nor that students whose abilities are below the Advanced level do not achieve some degree of success on those tests. It means that the type of student profile Unicamp wants to attract is consistent with Advanced, Advanced-Plus and Superior levels established by ACTFL.

METHODS: RELIABILITY STUDY

The scores from Unicamp's 1994 and 1995 English exams were obtained directly from the University's Special Committee for Entrance Exams. The data collection took place in the State University of Campinas in December of 1996 and January of 1997. The data consisted of individual item scores and total test scores of all students taking the English tests, which amounts to 16,813 students in 1994 and 11,378 in 1995. The test takers were not identified in any way; neither were their majors, areas of interest or FL skills.

Scores of each test item of both exams, as well as the total test scores of all students taking the tests, were analyzed. The statistical analysis consisted of a reliability study, which is mathematically defined as the ratio of the true score variance (actual differences in test takers' knowledge) to the observed score variance (actual score earned by each test taker). In a reliable test, a greater proportion of the actual observed test score variance can be attributed to differences in true score, not to some kind of random error,

such as anxiety, illness, or poor testing environment.

The internal consistency or homogeneity approach was utilized, which is considered the most appropriate approach to estimating the reliability of tests that are scored with a varying number of points, such as essay questions. If a test is internally consistent, all test items are tapping the same area of knowledge. So, the items can be also thought of as homogeneous, i. e., taken from the same domain.

RESULTS

Mean, standard deviation, item variance, Cronbach's coefficient alpha, and standard error of measurement were calculated for both 1994 and 1995 Unicamp English exams. The results of the 1994 test are shown in Table 1, while Table 2 shows the 1995 results.

On both tests, each question is scored on a scale from 0 to 5. Therefore, the maximum total score for 1994 is 80 points, and for 1995 is 60 points.

According to the coefficient alpha, applicants who took the 1994 exam performed consistently across the different test items ($r = 0.912$, $df = 16{,}811$, $p<<0.01$). Therefore, the test shows good internal consistency. About 91.2% of the test score variance reflects true score differences, and the remaining 8.8% reflects random measurement error.

The 1995 coefficient alpha shows that people who took this test also performed consistently across the different test items ($r = 0.83$, $df = 11{,}376$, $p<<0.01$). Around 83% of the test score variance reflects true score differences. The remaining 17% shows random measurement error.

The 1994 exam has a SEM of 6.069. That means that 6.069 is the average number of test score points that can be attributed to random error in the 1994 exam. The SEM found for the 1995 exam is 5.454. For that exam, the average true score/test score difference is estimated as 5.454 points.

Table 3 presents the 95% and 99% confidence intervals for the mean scores of each test. In each case, the interval represents the range within which the true mean score is expected to fall 95% and 99% of the time considering the SEM (and therefore the reliability) of each test. In the 1994 exam, the true mean score is likely to fall between scores of 24.479 and 48.269 for 95% of the time. In other words, the likelihood of the true mean score falling outside the above mentioned scores is only 5%. The 99% confidence interval (between 20.716 and 52.032) is the range within which it is 99% certain that the true mean score is probable to fall. The 1995 exam has a 95% confidence interval between scores of 19.789 and 41.167, and a 99% confidence interval between 16.407 and 44.549.

The standard error of measurement difference is utilized to evaluate the differences between the mean scores of the two tests. Table 4 shows the SEM_{dif} and the confidence interval cutoffs. The mean score difference between 1994 and 1995 test is 5.896 points. Such difference is less than the cutoffs; therefore, it is not a statistically significant difference.

DISCUSSION

In this reliability study, the consistency of scores was statistically analyzed to determine the overall quality of the test. A comparison of

Table 1
Results of the Statistical Analysis Performed on the 1994 Exam

Questions (Total Number k = 16)	Number of answers scored	Item Variance (σ_i^2)	Standard Deviation (σ_i)	Mean ($\overline{X}$)
1	16,512	1.859	1.363	3.433
2	15,670	5.622	2.371	3.059
3	15,154	5.492	2.343	2.884
4	14,274	5.118	2.262	1.948
5	15,468	3.821	1.954	2.263
6	15,822	4.639	2.645	2.664
7	14,527	3.534	1.880	3.376
8	14,725	2.768	1.663	1.390
9	15,825	3.419	1.849	2.448
10	14,716	5.432	2.330	2.634
11	13,323	1.800	1.341	1.153
12	14,816	5.258	2.293	2.255
13	14,074	2.799	1.673	3.140
14	14,380	3.720	1.928	3.079
15	15,598	2.637	1.624	2.229
16	13,877	2.895	1.701	2.822
Total Scores	16,813(a)	420.496(b)	20.506(c)	36.374(d)
$\Sigma(\sigma_i^2)$		60.821		
$\Sigma(\sigma_i)$			31.227	
Coefficient α	0.912			
SEM	6.069			

(a) This total represents the total number of applicants (N) taking the test.
(b) This total represents the σ_i^2 for all test questions together rather than singly.
(c) This total represents the σ_i for all test questions together rather than singly.
(d) This total represents the $(\overline{X})$ for all test questions together rather than singly.

Table 2
Results of the Statistical Analysis Performed on the 1995 Exam.

Questions (Total Number k = 12)	Number of answers scored	Item Variance (σ_i^2)	Standard Deviation (σ_i)	Mean ($\overline{X}$)
1	10,513	4.618	2.148	2.908
2	11,288	1.753	1.324	4.004
3	11,205	2.375	1.541	2.426
4	10,720	4.896	2.212	1.444
5	11,234	2.782	1.668	3.692
6	11,101	2.624	1.620	4.132
7	11,133	2.799	1.673	3.850
8	10,120	4.418	2.101	3.031
9	9,850	3.567	1.888	1.882
10	10,428	5.289	2.299	2.250
11	9,530	2.295	1.515	0.935
12	9,254	4.526	2.127	1.782
Total Scores	11,378(a)	176.050(b)	13.268(c)	30.478(d)
$\Sigma(\sigma_i^2)$		41.947		
$\Sigma(\sigma_i)$			22.121	
Coefficient α	0.830			
SEM	5.454			

(a) This total represents the total number of applicants (N) taking the test.
(b) This total represents the σ_i^2 for all test questions together rather than singly.
(c) This total represents the σ_i for all test questions together rather than singly.
(d) This total represents the $(\overline{X})$ for all test questions together rather than singly.

Table 3
95% and 99% Confidence Intervals of 1994 and 1995 Exams.

Exam	SEM	$\bar{X}$	95% CI		99% CI	
			Lower Limit	Upper Limit	Lower Limit	Upper Limit
1994	6.069	36.374	24.479	48.269	20.716	16.407
1995	5.454	30.478	19.789	41.167	52.032	44.549

Table 4
Standard Error of Measurement Difference and Its 95% and 99% Confidence Intervals.

SEM_{dif}	8.160
Cutoff for 95% CI	±15.993
Cutoff for 99% CI	±21.052

the psychometric properties of the two tests showed that they were similar.

Contrasting the two alpha coefficients, it is possible to see that even though the 12-question test shows a smaller reliability when compared to the 16-question test (0.83 and 0.912, respectively), it still has a considerably high reliability coefficient.

The 1994 reliability of 0.912 indicates that 91.2% of the test score variance reflects true score differences. Only about 8.8% of the test score variance is due to chance factors, not to differences in the actual knowledge being measured. This is a high level of internal consistency, which means that the students performed consistently across the 16 different test items. With this high internal consistency level, all test items are thought of as homogeneous; that is, they were all drawn from the same domain.

The reliability of 0.83 of the 1995 exam is slightly smaller than that of the 1994 exam. It shows that only about 17% of the test score variance reflects random measurement error, which can still be considered a small percentage of variance occurring due to chance factors.

The fact that the reliability coefficients obtained for both tests are considerably high is of great importance. The smaller reliability coefficient found for the 1995 exam does not seem to imply that the shorter test is substantially less reliable. The 1995 reliability being smaller than the 1994 coefficient only substantiates that the longer test has a higher reliability, as it should have. In order to confirm that, a subsequent analysis was performed so that the findings could be corroborated.

The next stage, then, was to verify what the SEM of both tests meant. The SEM found for the 1994 exam is 6.069, whereas its 1995 counterpart has a value of 5.454 points. Such values signify the average amount of points by which true scores differ from observed test scores. In

other words, they are the average amount of error in each test score. Again, it is important to mention that SEM does not refer to the specific amount of error in any one test-taker's test score, it is only an average.

With a mean score of 36.374, the 1994 exam has little over 6 of its points attributable to random error. The 1995 exam has over 5 points out of a mean of 30.478 credited to random error. Both SEMs are approximately one-sixth of their respective exam's mean. That can be considered a rather stable characteristic of the tests.

Considering the large sample size of both exams ($N_{1994} = 16{,}813$ and $N_{1995} = 11{,}378$), it is possible to say that this study produces potentially stable reliability estimates of population reliability. The reliability depends more on the subjects' variability than on the number of subjects. However, the sample size enters into consideration when calculating reliability. Reliabilities obtained on large samples (such as those in this study) are considered more consistent estimates and more closely approximate the population parameters. Moreover, the estimation of confidence intervals of reliability estimates from large sample size studies provides a range of values with a specific probability of including the real reliability (Morrow, 1993).

The 95% confidence interval of the 1994 exam falls between the scores of 24.479 and 48.269 (a range of 23.79 points in a test with a possible total score of 80 points). The 99% confidence interval of the same exam occurs between 20.716 and 52.032 (a range of 31.316 points). The 1995 exam, with a possible total score of 60 points, has a 95% confidence interval between the scores of 19.789 and 41.167 (a range of 21.378 points) and a 99% confidence interval between 16.407 and 44.549 (a range of 28.142 points).

Taking into consideration the total point value of each exam, it is possible to see that the 1994 exam presents narrower confidence interval ranges when compared with its 1995 counterpart. Narrower confidence intervals, added to the higher reliability of the 1994 exam, allows for a greater certainty that differences among scores reflect true score differences.

The observed standard error of measurement difference of 8.16 points is used to perform a type of significance test on the difference between two scores. The purpose is to see whether or not the difference is likely to occur on the basis of chance. The observed mean score difference between 1994 and 1995 exams is 5.896 points. This value is less than the cutoffs of 15.993 points for the 95% confidence interval and 21.052 for 99%. Therefore, it is possible to say that the difference between the mean scores of the two exams is not statistically significant. There is more than a 95% or even 99% likelihood that this difference is the result of random factors.

CONCLUSIONS

This study found that the authentic English tests of Reading Comprehension analyzed here are consistent with the upper levels of the ACTFL Reading Proficiency Guidelines.

Both tests succeed on their attempt to be a "pure" reading test with authentic input. By eliminating the possibility of L2 production by demanding only L1 use, the tests better

measure the students' actual reading ability.

The reliability study performed on both tests corroborates the good quality of the tests. It confirmed the hypothesis that the reliability coefficient should be higher for longer tests, even though the difference was quite small. The tests have stable measures of internal consistency, and the average amount of points attributable to random error is small in both cases.

This study sheds light on the issues concerning authentic tests and their psychometric properties. The old belief that only objective tests lend themselves to psychometric analysis is not held. Psychometric analysis is a valuable tool which should be increasingly utilized by researchers of language testing.

Not only researchers, but also L2 and FL teachers are urged to make good use of reliability studies such as this one. They need to be reassured that the tests they construct and adopt for their classroom practice are precise measures of what they intend to be assessing.

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APPENDIX A: 1994 ENGLISH TEST - TRANSLATION

Answer all questions IN PORTUGUESE.

17 - What is the way found by Calvin to get ten dollars from his father? Explain.

Read the following text and answer questions 18 to 20.

18 - Who is "Grandfather"?
19 - "No one in Vietnam has a clock as tall as a man." (quote in English) How does the narrator justify this statement?
20 - Why does the narrator refer to things from his country to describe Mr. Cohen?

Read the following text and answer questions 21 to 26.

21 - In Dr. Lieber's opinion, what makes his work out of the ordinary?
22 - Why was it not possible yet to test the hardness of the new material synthesized at Harvard University?
23 - To Malcolm Browne, in which aspects can the speed of light be compared to the hardness of diamond?
24 - The author of the above article states, in the fifth paragraph, that Harvard University has applied for a patent for the process of making carbon nitride. Justify the use of the expression "in any case" (quote in English) with which he introduces this statement.
25 - What is the relationship between the silicon nitride and the diamond, mentioned in the last paragraph?
26 - What should be altered if the "hardness" expected for the carbon nitride is confirmed?

Read the introduction of Frankenstein for one of the editions of the story and answer questions 27 to 30.

27 - What made the author accept the request from the editors to speak about the origins of Frankenstein?
28 - Why does Mary Shelley find natural the fact that she has been interested in writing stories since she was a child?
29 - Point to two differences mentioned by Mary Shelley between her writings and her childhood dreams.
30 - During her childhood, Mary Shelley lived on the coast of Scotland. What are her childhood feelings related to that place?

The following text refers to questions 31 and 32

31 - Based on your reading of the text, explain its title.
32 - Attribute a meaning to: (quotes in English)

a. "meander" (paragraph 1, line 7)
b. "hurling" (paragraph 4, line 9)
c. "dim" (paragraph 5, line 3)

APPENDIX B: 1995 ENGLISH TEST - TRANSLATION

Answer all questions IN PORTUGUESE.

13 - The following segment was taken from "A Martian Sends a Postcard Home," by Craig Raine. Read it and answer: What is the similarity between the rain and the television, according to the Martian?

Rain is when the earth is television.
It has the property of making colours darker.

The following text refers to questions 14 and 15.

14 - Based on the images obtained by the spacecraft "Clementine," what were the discoveries related to:
a) moon's valleys and peaks;
b) "The South Pole Aitken Basin"?

15 - How useful is it to calculate the depth of the moon's craters?

Read the following text and answer questions 16 to 18.

16 - What is needed in order to be possible to use biofuels for cooking or lighting houses?
17 - Cite two advantages of those fuels.
18 - Explain the process of obtaining biofuels.

In order to answer questions 19 to 21, read the following:

I. The introduction of the book "The Adventures of Grandfather Frog," by Thornton W. Burgess, and
II. A segment from one of its chapters.

19 - What are the stories of T. W. Burgess about?
20 - What does having a big mouth bring to Grandfather Frog?
21 - What made Grandfather Frog think about the word if??

Read the following pamphlet and answer questions 22 and 23.

22 - What induced the Dutch government to adopt its current position related to the fight against drugs?

23 - How do the ideas presented in the book conflict with other international institutions' policy of war on drugs?
24 - Explain the title of the advertisement.

Changing Teacher Roles in the Foreign Language Classroom

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This position paper examines the roles of teachers in traditional foreign language classrooms. It then measures these roles against current conceptual trends within the discipline of foreign language learning and teaching. In so doing, it argues that these trends, especially those in interpersonal communication and learner autonomy, require a new understanding of the roles of the foreign language teacher in the classroom. Next, it presents the KELP classroom of Kanda University in Japan—a classroom in which students assume responsibility for their own learning program—and the roles of the teacher in such an instructional system, as an illustrative example of what the roles of foreign language teachers of the future might be. Finally, implications for the future design of foreign language teacher-training courses are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the TESOL classroom has been one which places undue emphasis on the teacher. According to Wright (1987), the characteristics of this tradition are that teachers are all-powerful and all-knowing, setting high standards and exercising tight control over the dissemination of learning and knowledge. Learners must conform to these standards, and their efforts are judged by their results in examinations. This teacher role is usually contrasted with the "interpretation" teacher (see section on Traditional Roles of the Teacher) who dispenses control and responsibility for learning more among the learners. These two teacher roles are posited against each other, but in reality they are two ends of the same continuum.

Our paper, which is based in part on research currently being carried out in the English Language Institute of Kanda University, examines these trends in foreign language teachers' roles in order to discern future directions in the profession. We begin our examination by reviewing past and present teacher roles. We then discuss these in relation to contemporary language learning theories. Next, we move to an extended description and discussion of the Kanda English Language Proficiency (KELP) classroom at Kanda University in which students assume responsibility for their own learning program. We examine the KELP classroom as a plausible design for future foreign language classrooms and discuss the roles of the teacher in such an instructional system. We argue that the trend towards greater learner autonomy

in classroom necessitates the adoption of new teacher roles for the foreign language classroom in unison with other curricular changes.

TRADITIONAL CLASSROOM ROLES

This section gives the literature sources of evidence and information for traditional classroom roles.

Language-Proficiency Course Books

Examination of popular course books, including but not limited to, students' books, teachers' books, audio tapes, and sometimes resource/practice books for supplementary grammatical practice, reveals that learners are given little or no choice *within* the course book to organize their learning. While units or sections may be omitted, the students' pathway through the course is relatively inflexible. In addition, learners are rarely encouraged to evaluate their learning through specific exercises. Textbooks, then, along with teacher-training courses, reflect the expectation that the whole class will react to the same (or at least related) text as input under the teacher's supervision.

A fitting example of such a paradigm is the *East-West* series (American English) published by Oxford University Press. In their introduction to Book One of this popular series, authors Graves and Rein (1988) assert that they identified the linguistic features students would need most in order to communicate effectively, and they based their text on these elements. The authors acknowledge that "Students become motivated when they are interested and engaged in what they're learning" (p. ix) and then proceed to explain how *they* decided what students should be interested in. Also seen as a positive feature is the fact that the book is organized such that "Each unit is carefully designed to build on the previous one." This statement makes clear that students are meant to progress through the book from the beginning to the end in a linear fashion, with no deviation from the predetermined path. The teacher's manual also identifies which exercises are "optional" or "alternative," again suggesting curricular decisions rest with the individual teacher. That is, students have no say as to which exercises will or will not be completed, and in what order.

That language instruction should be conducted in this way is in direct opposition to what Second Language Acquisition research tells us about individual differences and the impact that such differences have on language acquisition. Issues ranging from age at first L2 exposure, to aptitude, cognitive factors like learning style and field dependence/independence, affective factors like motivation and attitude, as well as risk-taking and use of learning strategies, have been discussed in the literature. Research into these issues has consistently shown that they are not to be taken lightly that a complex interrelation of all these factors results in each individual learner having a different way as well as rate of acquiring language (Ellis, 1994; Long & Larsen-Freeman, 1991). Despite such findings, most authors and publishers in the field,

while admitting to the reality of individual differences, continue to create course books that ignore such important differences. This may be sensible from a marketing point of view but is pedagogically unsound.

Teacher-Training Textbooks

There has been an explosion in the number of authoritative titles about teacher training in recent years, and it is difficult to narrow these down to a selective list. One very popular title is *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching* (Richards and Rodgers, 1986), which has a clear section on teacher roles within each approach or method analyzed. Jeremy Harmer's *The Practice of English Language Teaching* (1987) has been a favorite of British-based Royal Society of Arts Certificate and Diploma courses in foreign language teaching throughout the '80s and '90s. This provides a comprehensive and general overview. In a similar tradition to Harmer, Donn Byrne's (1986) *Teaching Oral English* and Matthews, Spratt & Dangerfield's (1985) *At the Chalkface—Practical Techniques in Language Teaching* are still quite popular. More recent teacher-training books, such as Omaggio's (1993) *Teaching Language in Context*, mention teacher roles and learner autonomy, but still default to the view of *learners as a group*, thus relegating any curriculum negotiation to a discussion of what is best for all.

Byrne (1986) describes three basic teacher roles in the oral English classroom. These are "presentation," when the teacher introduces something new to be learned; "practice," when the teacher allows the learners to work under his/her direction; and "production," when the teacher gives the students opportunities to work on their own (p. 2).

This broad division of the oral class into these stages with the teacher as a conductor has been paradigmatic in British teacher-training courses for some time now. While the classroom in these cases is no longer simply an institutionalized location for the transmission of a foreign language system, the teacher retains tight responsibility for planning material, and for pacing and controlling student activities. In this aspect, the teacher's role has not changed much from the grammar translation class.

The above mentioned texts all describe roles and activities in the lock-step classroom, which Dickinson (1987) defines as one in which all students are more or less engaged in studying the same thing at the same time. In such a classroom, students might be all listening to the same audio cassette, watching the same video, or working on the same tasks in the same textbook. As Johnson et al. (1995) has argued, research findings from studies on Second Language Acquisition and on learner differences do not necessarily validate such an approach. Interestingly, Breen (1985) views the classroom as a cultural setting where social realities "specify and mold the activities of teaching and learning" (p. 142). He concludes the classroom cultural setting is generally highly normative and inherently conservative. We feel that the conservative framework of most

educational establishments has institutionalized the lock-step classroom as their modus operandi. In other words, political and institutional considerations subsume pedagogical concerns so that alternative ways of teaching and learning are not addressed. The overall role of the teacher remains the planner and director of orchestrated lock-step learning.

Teacher-Training Syllabi

Teacher-training courses tend to be oriented towards particular methods and, therefore, instruct people to teach within the confines of those methods. Most of the methods promoted by these teacher-training courses place the teacher at the center of the class as described earlier. An extreme case of this is the grammar translation method, which is a true transmission classroom and places few demands on the teacher. Audio-lingualism is also a teacher-dominated method, and the teacher's role is central and active. According to this method, language learning results from active verbal interaction between teacher and learners.

The 1970s gave rise to a variety of methods in the generally held belief that there must be an optimum way to stimulate learners' acquisition and cognition of language. A number of methods attained brief notoriety until the broad-based approach, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), won general acceptance in English teaching circles. This approach sees communicative competence as the goal of language teaching and proposes procedures for such teaching based on the interdependence of language and communication. Minimally, students are expected to interact with other people; fluency and acceptable language are the primary goals. Generally speaking, several roles are assumed for teachers in CLT, a central one being to facilitate interaction. Richards and Rodgers (1986) hold that other roles include "needs analyst," "counselor," and "group-process manager" (p. 77).

The 1994-1995 RSA / Cambridge Diploma teacher-training schedule in Tokyo reflects the roles mentioned within the description of CLT above. Theoretical components of the course include "the learner and learning styles" and "learner strategies and the good language learner," but overall the teacher is assumed to be responsible, to a great extent, for the learners' motivation. This necessarily follows, since "intrinsic motivation will spring from an interest in what is being communicated by the language" (Finocchiaro and Brumfit, 1983, p. 91) and teachers are responsible for materials and tasks in the classroom. However, decision-making and control over what is studied has evolved more towards the learner recently, though we believe not enough (see section on Learner-centeredness).

Statements of Professional Qualifications

The Directory of Professional Preparation Programs in TESOL in the United States (Kornblum & Garshick, 1992) also specifies several roles for the English as a second language (ESL) teacher. As the largest organization of language-

teaching professionals in the world, TESOL has become the major organ for the legitimization of means as well as ends of English instruction. With the overall goal being the "mastery of communicative competence" (p. 231) by the students, the teacher's role is seen first as that of an evaluator who is responsible for judging how well students are moving toward this goal and where their strengths and weaknesses may lie. Following this evaluation, it is incumbent on the teacher to set objectives on behalf of the students, and to choose or modify approaches, methods and techniques as well as materials that will best encourage progress towards achieving those teacher-set objectives.

TRADITIONAL ROLE OF THE TEACHER

Model of Language

In classrooms where language teaching is understood as the transmission of a linguistic system, native-like proficiency is the desired paradigm. In this transmission setting, the teacher provides the model to which students aspire, usually in terms of knowledge of syntax and lexis, and possibly accurate pronunciation. Correct form and accuracy are more important than the content of messages, and students often compare their performance against that of the teacher.

Lesson Planner and Director

The content of courses is usually decided by some higher authority than teachers. Decisions may be made at the department level, or at the school or college level. However, the planned events and classroom text to be used are generally decided by teachers. In this capacity it is the teacher's role to prepare materials that are stimulating for the students or to amend/revise published materials which are inappropriate. Byrne (1986, p. 3) sees this as part of the teacher's role as *motivator*. He sees students' motivation as a response to the interest intrinsic to the materials, rather than as an attitude that the students bring to the class. Legutke and Thomas (1991) would take issue with this view. They write that "the assumption that a well-selected and interesting topic would solve motivational problems and increase a willingness to learn (is) possibly short-sighted" (p. 24). We will take up this point more fully in later discussions on Learner Autonomy.

During the last few decades of language teaching, it has become more usual for teachers to engage in negotiation of the syllabus with students, especially in those classes following a notional-functional syllabus (Omaggio, 1993). This, however still does not account for learner differences—it involves mass negotiation of content only, so that while student input is sought on which notions or functions to include in the syllabus, all learners still must study that negotiated content through the methods, approaches, and techniques chosen by the teacher, and they must progress through tasks and exercises as a unified group. More often, it is the teacher who decides what and how the students will learn.

Nunan (1988) has advocated planning and needs analysis as a teacher role, pointing out in his *Learner-Centred Curriculum* that if needs analysis shows learners not seeing the importance of communicative activities, then "Somehow or other, the teacher. . .needs to convince learners of the value of communicative activities" (p. 96). Again, it is clear that the issue is not so much to pay attention to the needs that students express, but to impose upon learners the idea that the teacher knows best.

Presenter of New Language Material

The stage of a lesson where learners focus their attention on text, prior to performing an associated task, is often termed input. In this case the teacher assumes responsibility for introducing the language. This is one of the three paradigmatic stages of oral classes mentioned earlier. The teacher should be sensitive as to what and how much information to give and should also consider appropriateness of level. According to Byrne (1986, p. 2), the teacher is the center of activity at this point.

In connection with this stage, Cranmer (in Matthews, Spratt and Dangerfield, 1985) sees the motivation arising from the teacher's qualities as crucial to learners' performance, and discusses "sensitivity, sympathy, flexibility . . . avoidance of sarcasm and ridicule . . . appropriate personality role (paternal, maternal, fraternal)." Where he places responsibility on the teacher, in this respect we would provide learners with genuine choices (see discussions later on The KELP Conceptual Framework) about what and how to study and hence give space for motivation from the learner's perspective.

Controller/Monitor of Student Practice—Checking and Correcting

At this stage of the lesson the teacher's role becomes less central as the students practice the language and the teacher observes, noting student errors and judging when to change activities. Byrne (1986) likens the teacher's role to that of the conductor of an orchestra, "giving each of the performers a chance to participate and monitoring their performance" (p. 2). Implicit in this role is the issue of how much, what, when and how to correct student errors. Harmer (1987) discusses five techniques for indicating that students have made an error. The intention is that if students understand this feedback they will be able to correct the mistake and this self-correction will be helpful as part of their overall learning process. Any division of roles is always arbitrary to some extent but in the case of oral practice, we can suggest that a further stage develops from this one, where the teacher is manager and guide for students' production of language.

Assessor of Student Knowledge and Performance

As already stated above, the role of assessor is one specified by the Directory of Professional Preparation Programs in TESOL: it is by being the assessor of performance that the teacher checks his or her effectiveness in propelling students towards communicative compe-

tence. McArthur (1983), in his discussion of the place of formal testing in the language classroom, points out that in more informal types assessment (such as continued observation of individual students' progress) it is assumed that it is teachers who "know the students best and are in the best of all possible positions to evaluate each individual" (p. 110).

Classroom Manager

Several of the roles described thus far can be considered managerial. Wright (1987) defines management as "teaching or learning behavior aimed at organizing learning and learning activities" (p. 157). In common with Byrne, as aforementioned (in the section on Lesson Planner and Director), Wright further deems "motivation" a key management role and lists several sub-components (p. 53) of this: projecting a positive attitude to learners, providing interesting tasks, maintaining discipline, arranging and adjusting group configurations, providing self-appraisal opportunities, etc.

Wright (1987) contrasts the management behavior of "transmission" and "interpretation" teachers (p. 63) in several ways. A transmission teacher maintains a high degree of control over learners while the interpretation teacher maintains control by persuasion. The interpretation teacher disperses responsibility for learning among the learners. In relative terms, the management of Wright's interpretation teacher is much more learner-centered than that of his transmission teacher. We argue in the next section that it does not go far enough.

CONTEMPORARY CHANGES IN THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Learner-Centeredness

As opposed to the traditional classroom, the concept of learner-centeredness advocates the use of student input and feedback in the structuring and ongoing modification of the curriculum. This concept of learner-centeredness is not, as Nunan (1995) recently pointed out, an "all-or-nothing concept," (p. 134) but rather a relative one. Nunan defines a learner-centered curriculum as one which "will contain similar components to those contained in traditional curricula. However, the key difference is that in a learner-centred curriculum, key decisions . . . be made with reference to the learner" (p. 134). Nunan (1988) originally saw learner-centeredness in terms of negotiation with and input from learners, but more recently has enlarged his definition to include full learner autonomy at the "strong" end of the pedagogical continuum (Nunan, 1995). This accords well with our view of learner-centeredness, which maintains the learner as an individual capable of designing his or her own program of study, not as one who simply adds an opinion to a majority rule decision on syllabus or class content.

Accepting such a view of learner-centeredness demands many changes in the classroom. Most course books with their steady lock-step progression of chapters do not fit into our structure since they

do not allow for individually-charted courses through curricula. In classes centered around conventional course books of today, students and teachers may work together to renegotiate the curriculum so that it better matches the students' needs and learning styles. Yet, if they are locked into using textbooks which are not flexible, individual strategic and cognitive preferences and styles are not being addressed. We would argue that materials should be created to be used in such a way that learners have some choice in all aspects: activities and pathways through them, as well as when they will be working, and with whom.

Both the *Options* series (Harrison & Mont, 1995), created for and now in use at Tokyo's Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages, and the *Tapestry* series (Scarcella & Oxford, 1992) show features of learner choice as described above, and are forerunners in the conceptual design that we advocate in this paper.

Interpersonal Communication

Mass-marketed materials have often reflected a view of language as a set of symbols that must be successfully manipulated in order for communication to occur. This may be partially due to the huge influence of Chomsky's (1965) notion of language as an abstract representation of language as form. This notion is far removed from the concept of communicative language teaching, in which we have now come to recognize the interpersonal nature of language. The idea that language is inseparable from its larger context is by no means a new one: Malinowski (1935) maintained that the linguistic utterance is defined within its context of situation and culture. From this developed the principles of communicative language teaching within the tradition of British linguistics. However, it is only with general acceptance of the communicative approach that language as the exchange and creation of meaning in a communicative context has finally gained ascendancy in language teaching.

As the classroom changes, it is in part responding to the overdue acceptance of this view of language. In the past, language was seen for pedagogical purposes as something the teacher transmitted to the learner by presenting new material and modeling its use. The formal aspects of language were attended to in this type of language teaching, but little or no attention was paid to the strategic, discourse, or communicative aspects of language (Canale & Swain, 1980).

If all aspects of language competence are to be addressed, the type of classroom exercises must necessarily include more communicative activities such as those that mirror real-world exchanges or that stress formal aspects of language. Lessons should involve students being able not only to perform drills, but also to work together on tasks in which they need language to reach some mutually determined goal. In our view, the materials must reflect the complementary aspects of language creation by including task-based activities such as problem-solving, which involve the manipulation of information to some end, and text-based activities, where

the intended end products are samples of accurate language (Johnson et al., 1995). As Nunan (1988) states—

> . . . a basic principle underlying all communicative approaches is that learners must learn not only to make grammatically correct, propositional statements about the experiential world, but must also develop the ability to use language to get things done . . . simply being able to create grammatically correct structures in language did not necessarily enable the learner to use the language to carry out various real-world tasks. [p. 25]

Incumbent on the paradigm shift to meaningful and contextually-based communication is the development of interpersonal communication. Richards and Rodgers (1986) note that a primary purpose of language is to serve "as a vehicle for the realization of interpersonal relations" (p. 17). Language is seen as the tool used to describe and interpret experience. Yet one's view of the experience is never absolute but rather subject to modification through a process of negotiation with others (Kelly, 1955). Language then is not merely transactional discourse, rather it creates meaning as input and output through social interactions. In an educational setting, this negotiated creation of meaning may occur between students; students and the teacher; or the teacher, students, and the community.

Learner Autonomy

What began with an increased awareness of the importance of learner input in creating a curriculum and materials has now evolved to enable learners to have a greater say in every aspect of their learning. There is a current trend towards increased autonomy for learners. This not only entails the student conferring with the teacher in order to allow the teacher to make more informed decisions about the directions the programs and materials should take, but should also allow the students to design their own programs of study as the managers and directors of their own learning. Nunan (1995), in finally recognizing the later and stronger view of learner autonomy, has recently advocated "the development of curricula and materials which encourage learners to move towards the fully autonomous end of the pedagogical continuum" (p. 134).

In an experiment described by Entwhistle (as cited in Dickinson, 1987) it was shown that outcomes of language learning are more successful if types of materials are matched with preferred learning style. We would like to extend the ramifications of Entwhistle's findings. If students choose materials and pathways through them, rather than having them prescribed by the teacher, learning outcomes may well become more satisfactory. This then embraces the stronger version of learner autonomy that language teaching is currently turning towards.

When students are compelled to assume greater responsibility for directions their learning will take, they will gradually learn to see themselves as the controllers of their own learning—learning is seen as something which is self-initiated and not other-initiated. The final outcome of this type of system is to encourage life-long learning as an intrinsically rewarding experience and therefore as something which can continue outside of formal instruction and out of the presence of the teacher, whether that be at the end of the class, or at the end of the course (Holec, 1980 and 1987; Dickenson, 1987). This, according to Knowles (1975), is our duty as educators: to make learners understand that learning can be achieved in this way, and then provide them with the training to do so.

The teacher roles implicit in the above may be difficult for some to accept given their professional training and their perception of themselves as the classroom "experts." In fact, this style of classroom does not in any way impinge on the teacher's expertise—rather, it is the focus of that expertise that changes. Whereas now, the teacher is used as presenter of language elements and as lesson planner, autonomy shifts the teacher more into the role of counselor. In Wright's (1987) terms, there is a greater shift away from the "transmission" paradigm towards the "interpretation" end of the continuum. The teacher then becomes the one who—because of in-depth knowledge of and experience with how learning occurs and can be facilitated—can suggest to learners ways to go about learning and can counsel them in methods of solving learning problems.

The teacher also has an important role as the one who must train students in how to become autonomous, since students come to learning often unaware of how to take an active role (Allwright, 1981). In the roles of trainer and counselor, the teacher may at times need to sit back and allow the students to make choices which seem to be unbeneficial in order to allow them, possibly through "failure" in a learning activity, to learn how to really manage their own learning and make their own decisions (Sturtridge, 1992). In this way, Cornwall (1988) has found that learners, upon being asked to plan and direct their own programs of study, find the thought and energy this requires and come to have an increased respect for the expertise of the teacher.

As Kohonen (1989) points out, this greater student autonomy requires the teacher to have "a basic trust in the learner's will and ability to cope with these tasks, and a respect for his person and his choices" (p. 12). Wright (1987) adds that this has beneficial effects in the interpersonal communication between teachers and learners as it entails a basic change in teacher and student roles (see section on Teacher Roles in the KELP Classroom) as the perceived power or position of the co-conversationalists shifts from a hierarchical relationship to one of relative equality.

A Predictive View of the Future Foreign Language Classroom

Discussions of learner autonomy until now have usually pointed to the need for student-centered activities and negotiated curricula to ensure that tasks are meaningful for the students (Nunan, 1988), yet often student input has been limited to group decisions. Students have been discussed only in the *plural*; rarely have allowances been made for individual likes and dislikes. Recall for example the notional-functional syllabus in which (as mentioned in section on Lesson Planner and Director) students are included in syllabus design, but only as a class, not as individuals with unique needs.

As we move along the continuum of learner-centeredness, we should expect to see an increase in strong-end learner-centeredness and in the behavioral autonomy of the learner. The individual needs, wants, and desires of each student within the classroom will eventually be fully recognized and allowed for within a maximally learner-centered educational system. Learners and not instructors will increasingly be the ones who decide what they will study, and learners, not instructors, will increasingly define for themselves *why* they are studying as they set their own goals and objectives.

Additionally, learning may not be confined to the traditional four-walled classroom. The interactional component of modern language teaching will continue to emphasize the performance of social interactions not only with the teacher and peers but also in the community. These changes are consistent with the belief that students should acquire the needed skills to design and manage their own learning, to evaluate their own progress and continue to learn even outside a formal institution. As such, these changes should be welcomed rather than feared by educators.

THE KELP PROJECT AS AN EXAMPLE

Introduction

The foregoing discussion of the traditional roles of the teacher in the foreign language classroom and the contemporary changes in thinking about foreign language learning constitute the rationale for the KELP (Kanda English Language Proficiency) research project to which we will now turn our attention. We use the KELP project as a predictive example of one way in which the strong-version of learner autonomy which we here advocate can be realized.

The KELP Project, although based on theoretical and implementational principles discussed in the section below on The KELP Conceptual Framework, is firmly focused on the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom and the way a student operates in such a classroom. The research imperative is stated ultimately as a question: Can we devise a classroom instructional system in which the students plan and carry out their own individually-designed courses?

We are not interested in promoting any one approach or method or textbook course of foreign language learning and teach-

ing, for we believe that the differences between learners prevent specification of any one best way of learning for individuals. We see all approaches and the detailed instructional materials on which they are based as potential candidates for choice by students who best know what and how they wish to study. Our concern is the creation of a classroom instructional system which accommodates the different interests and preferences found in any group of learners.

The KELP Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the KELP Project comprises both theoretical and implementational principles which govern learning and instruction in the classroom. These principles are discussed next.

Theoretical principles are concerned with the establishment of a classroom instructional system which is both individualized and communicative. By "individualized" we mean a system within which each student plans and carries out a personalized course based on a set of course requirements—designed to ensure exposure to a variety of types of content and learning—and instructional materials chosen by the student on the basis of that student's interests and preferences. By "communicative" we mean the need for a high density of interpersonal interaction in the classroom as students progress through their courses.

Implementational principles focus on the roles that learners, teachers, instructional materials, and the classroom itself—the "factors of production" of learning—play in facilitating the completion of personalized courses. Learner roles describe the student as planner, director, and assessor of learning. Teacher roles, to be described in greater detail later, highlight the teacher's function as a facilitator of learning. Instructional materials are viewed as a bank of selectable resources, while the classroom is seen as an environment responsive to the immediate and changing needs, preferences and interests of students.

The KELP Classroom

The KELP classroom, as a physical entity, is a room which is divided into "learning centers" in which students complete different activities. Classroom layout is designed to accommodate individual, pair and small group, and whole-class activities. What distinguishes these activities from their counterparts in traditional classrooms is that here the students decide when to initiate an activity, *not* the teacher.

The KELP classroom, as a group of learners, operates through a learner contract worked out by each student in consultation with the classroom teacher at the beginning of the course. Contracts are expressed as a notional number of hours spent completing designated activities. Course requirements entail time on task and types (individual, pair, small group, etc.) of learning activities.

In many ways, the KELP classroom resembles the self-access or independent learning centers found in many language-learning institutions. However, whereas

such centers are essentially adjuncts to the core classroom learning program, the KELP classroom *is* the core program.

Teacher Roles in the KELP Classroom

Because this paper focuses on the changing roles of the teacher and the teacher-training implications of these changing roles, we will now examine in some detail the roles of the KELP classroom teacher. These roles contribute in several ways to the overall role of the teacher as *facilitator* of learning. It is the teacher's task to make sure that students are able to carry out their personalized courses in an efficient and satisfying way. To do this we can identify the following teacher roles:

Manager of the classroom instructional systems. The teacher is quintessentially a manager ensuring that the factors of production operate efficiently. As classroom manager the KELP teacher is responsible for the following:

1. Setting up the classroom. In this role the teacher arranges the furniture and instructional materials to make sure that students can easily access and use needed materials.

2. Training students to make course plans and consulting with them on the preparation of their learner contracts. In the KELP instructional system, the teacher must approve each learner contract to check that all course requirements have been met. Such consultation not only ensures exposure to a variety of types of content and learning, but also helps orient students to a system of learning that may initially appear strange to them.

3. Managing learner assessment. Consequent to a movement away from summative and teacher-directed assessment towards formative, criterion-referenced assessment, the teacher's role in assessing student performance is changing. In the KELP classroom, the student is responsible for recording progress through the course. In some parts of the course, and in some activities, the teacher will be involved in the assessment process. However, as manager, the teacher is responsible for checking that students record progress accurately and maintain their profiles of work completed.

4. Maintaining discipline. As disciplinarian the KELP teacher is responsible for ensuring that the classroom provide a quiet and congenial atmosphere in which to work. The teacher is also responsible for ensuring that students comply with any regulations imposed by the institution, such as attendance.

Counselor of learners and consultant of learning. The role of the teacher as manager concerns mainly the relationship between the teacher and the class as a whole. To each student in the class, the teacher is a counselor and a consultant who is available to give advice about the

student's course. This means that the teacher must be available to be able to give such counsel to individuals; thus, the teacher must be freed from the need to be continually presenting new language material and monitoring student practice of that material. Presentation and practice functions in the language classroom can be assumed by instructional materials which, if they have been carefully designed to exploit the variety of media currently available, can replace a teacher so that the teacher is available to perform classroom tasks which instructional materials cannot perform—those tasks which involve giving professional advice to students.

The role of counselor and consultant will include, among other tasks, giving advice about what to do when a student or group of students have trouble completing an activity. To be able to give such advice, the professional teacher must know well the instructional materials and the students who are using those materials. In short, the teacher must be a scholar of learning and learners.

Scholar of learning and learners. In order to counsel students, to guide them towards making sound choices about their courses, the teacher must come to "know" a student very well. As already noted, the plethora of individual differences exhibited by learners in a classroom, differences which lead them to choose different paths in a course, are well documented in the literature of language learning and teaching. Such differences only become apparent in the operation of the course, as they cannot be predicted before the course begins. The teacher has to study learners in operation to learn as much as possible about their unique patterns of learning.

As a scholar of learning, the teacher will be involved with what is sometimes called "reflective teaching" or "action research," which will be referred to again later. Such activity can be carried out at many different levels of complexity—from relatively superficial observations of classroom behavior to the carefully structured data-based research carried out at some universities.

The degree of sophistication of this research does not necessarily reflect its contribution to the improvement of classroom learning. What is important is that the teacher reflects upon teaching and learning, and applies the insights gleaned to counseling students. What this means is that professional teaching has a built-in scholarly process of data collection, scrutiny and evaluation of data, and use of the results of such a process as one of the teacher's roles in the classroom.

Instructor and assessor. There are many "teachers" in every classroom: A textbook can teach students; a video machine can often present new language material in context more effectively than a human teacher can. A student can teach or tutor fellow students, often very effectively; a tape recorder, television set, or radio can "teach," each medium having built-in advantages for the teaching of certain

kinds of information. So, too, can the professional teacher teach.

All of the teachers mentioned above can carry out classroom instruction—*i.e.* they can present new information to students and provide practice and feedback on that practice to students. Sometimes the professional teacher instructs students. This desirably happens when other "teachers" cannot be used, for the professional teacher can do many things that other less qualified "teachers" cannot do: a tape recorder cannot be a scholar of learning; A video cannot counsel students when they have learning problems.

Desirably, in an individualized and communicative instructional system, the professional teacher will have available a variety of teaching resources so that instructional work is kept to a minimum and he or she can concentrate on *managing, counseling,* and *studying* learners and learning to make improvements in the instructional system.

It is recognized, however, that in institutions where such technology is not already available, the set-up costs associated with instructional systems like the KELP classroom can be formidable. Yet the ever increasing availability and use of multimedia in the global marketplace have made TVs, video cameras, computers and the like standard fare in many educational settings. Given this, the question is not so much *should* the technology be used, but *how* to use it most effectively and efficiently.

In the KELP classroom, much of the assessment of learner work will be done by the learners. The management aspects of learner assessment have already been mentioned. However, it must be recognized that the professional teacher will be involved in both formative and summative assessment to the extent necessary to ensure satisfactory work and progress in the KELP classroom.

Future Implications for Teacher Training.

This paper has used the KELP classroom as a model which, we believe, foreshadows potential foreign language learning classrooms of the future. We have attempted to provide evidence that this model is consonant with the findings of contemporary research into foreign language learning and teaching, and is a reasonable basis from which to make predictions about what the future roles of foreign language classroom teachers might be. However, our concern to date has been with the design and implementation of the KELP project; conclusive assessment of its results is the next stage of the project.

The next section of our paper argues the implications of our research for the foreign language teachers of the future. Such implications are presented in two parts. First, the traditional roles of the foreign language teacher, outlined in the section above on Traditional Classroom Roles, will be compared and contrasted with those of the teacher in the KELP classroom. Such an analysis will serve as a rationale for proposed changes in emphasis in teacher-training programs. Second, some parameters of a future

teacher-training course will be proposed and discussed.

The Rationale for Change—Traditional vs. Future Classroom Roles of the Foreign Language Teacher

Earlier on we outlined the traditional (present) classroom roles of foreign language teachers. It is, we submit, fruitful to compare and contrast these roles with the roles of the KELP teacher described section above on Teacher Roles in the KELP Classroom. We believe that such a comparison serves as a rationale for a change in the curricula for the training of foreign language teachers.

Model of language. Such a prime role for the teacher assumes a classroom in which the teacher is the source of foreign language input. In this technological age such an assumption is neither valid nor appropriate. The classroom teacher cannot model the variety of modalities necessary to provide a communicative (focusing on use) rather than a linguistic (focusing on usage) basis for foreign language learning. Moreover, such a role could imply that native speakers of the target language are inherently "better" teachers of that language than are other teachers.

Lesson planner and director. This view of the teacher as the omnipresent provider of knowledge to students assumes student sameness and lock-step progression of the class through a course. The movement towards learner-centeredness and curriculum design based on student needs, interests and preferences had produced recognition of differences in students as a basis for success in learning. Such a movement precludes the use of a "one plan for all" approach to lesson planning.

Presenter of new language material. The teacher can be a presenter of new language material, but questions are now being raised—especially with the advent of new technologies in the classroom, including interactive video, and the desirability of having different presentations at different times according to different course plans—about whether presenting new language is the most effective use of the professional teacher's time.

Controller/monitor of student practice—Checking and correcting. The teacher of the future will continue to be a monitor of student practice, though not necessarily a controller of student practice. With the change of emphasis from the linguistic to the communicative aspects of the language-learning syllabus, practice activities which are self-checking or which have a non-linguistic check of communication are of increasing importance.

Assessor of student knowledge and performance. The future foreign language teacher will, it is submitted, continue to have a crucial role in both formative and summative assessment of learners. However, in this continuing role, contemporary trends towards the increasing value placed on competency-based measures of achievement and the desir-

ability of student participation in self- and peer assessment point to the teacher's role as manager/counselor/consultant/assessor rather than as judge assessor.

Classroom manager. As expressed earlier in this paper, the teacher as classroom manager is projected to be the primary role of the foreign language teacher of the future. However, it is the difference between the management roles outlined earlier and those in the KELP description which help define the rationale for change in the training of foreign language teachers. Such difference is essentially the change of teacher from controller to facilitator of classroom activity.

Parameters of a Teacher-Training Course for Foreign Language Teachers of the Future

If curricula for the training of foreign language teachers of the future are to change, what are the directions of those changes, and how are they desirably put into effect? A complete answer to these and other questions associated with the changing nature of the foreign language classroom is beyond the scope of this paper. However, as a conclusion, we wish to suggest certain topics which, in addition to those usually covered in teacher-training courses, need to be addressed by teacher trainers. The following are some suggested topics.

Focus on classroom management skills. It is submitted that the single most important skill of the foreign language classroom teacher of the future will be skill in the management of a group of students as they plan and direct their own learning programs using a selectable bank of instructional materials. Such management skill will, as has been pointed out above, be multifaceted. It will, for example, involve the teacher in training students to make choices, or in setting up groups of students at different times. Such management skills will desirably be based on a sound knowledge of group dynamics.

Training in student counseling. To be able to train students to assume responsibility for planning and carrying out their own learning programs, teachers need to become skilled counselors. They need to have studied how to lead students to accept responsibility for their own work and to request help when needed.

Reflective teaching and action research. The teacher as scholar of learning and learners needs to know how to systematically observe and reflect on the system of instruction in the classroom and on the individual and group patterns of learning which that system produces.

Communicative approaches to formative and summative assessment. An instructional system similar to the one which operates in the KELP classroom requires of the teacher professional training in new directions of learner assessment. Such training will include new developments in self- and peer assessment.

These implications for the training of the foreign language

teachers of the future are not intended to replace the present training syllabi but rather to complement and add to them. It is true that the teaching profession is changing towards higher professionalism on the part of the teacher. As new technologies for the presentation and exchange of information become more sophisticated and less expensive they are able to assume some of the para-professional roles of the classroom teacher, including the presentation of new material to students and the monitoring of the practice of that new material. As this happens, the teacher is freed to concentrate on those functions which technology cannot cope with—the making of decisions based on professional knowledge and human intuition.

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have attempted to examine the roles of teachers in traditional (present) foreign language classrooms and measure these against current conceptual trends within the discipline of foreign language learning and teaching. We have argued that these trends, especially those in interpersonal communication and learner autonomy, require a new view of the roles of the foreign language teacher in the classroom. We have used the example of the KELP classroom and the roles of the KELP teacher as a predictive example of the foreign language teacher of the future. Drawing on our research and experience in the KELP classroom, we have briefly suggested some implications for the design of foreign language teacher-training courses in the future.

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Neurolinguistic Applications to SLA Classroom Instruction: A Review of the Issues with a Focus on Danesi's Bimodality

E. G. KIM-RIVERA

Few studies have approached second language teaching from the perspective of neurolinguistics. An exception is Danesi's educational construct called bimodality. Bimodality is an attempt to provide a neurolinguistic foundation for language instruction in the classroom. The underlying hypothesis is that there is a natural flow of information processing from the right to the left hemisphere of the brain during language learning; therefore, language instruction should reflect that flow direction by providing concrete forms of instruction at early stages and more formal and abstract instructions at later stages. This hypothesis, however, raises questions. For example, the evidence for right-hemisphere functions in second language acquisition (SLA) is contradictory; yet, those functions are an important aspect of bimodality. Moreover, there have been few empirical studies supporting the hypothesis.

INTRODUCTION

Since the efficacy of language teaching methodology came under fire in the 1970's (Danesi, 1987) there has been a general lack of agreement among researchers on how a second language is best acquired. Perhaps this uncertainty is why a growing number of researchers are looking to neuroscience for an answer to the fundamental question of second language acquisition (SLA). In spite of the growing interest in neuroscience, however, only a few studies of SLA in classroom settings have taken a neurolinguistic perspective. In particular, few researchers have applied neurolinguistic discoveries to the development of concrete propositions that could guide second language teachers. A notable exception is Marcel Danesi, who has developed an educational construct for the classroom based on neurolinguistic principles. This construct is called bimodality.

This article is a discussion of Danesi's bimodality and its implications to classroom teaching practices. As an introduction, however, the article first reviews a selection of studies in neuroscience over the last fifteen years that seem to have particular relevance to SLA research and that help define the possible role of neurolinguistics in language pedagogy. Finally, the article takes a special look at Danesi's bimodality construct and its issues.

REVIEW OF NEUROLINGUISTIC ISSUES

For the last two centuries, neurophysiologists have believed, according to clinical data on brain-damaged people, that each hemisphere of the brain has distinct, specialized functions (Danesi, 1987, 1990). It was known, for in

speech impairment known as aphasia. Moreover, in 1861, Pierre-Paul Broca, in a case study of a patient with a brain lesion, discovered a connection between speech ability and the lateral left frontal lobe of the brain. In 1874 Carl Wernicke found a site in the left hemisphere related to speech comprehension. These observations gave credence to the idea that, for controlling language functions, the left hemisphere was superior to the right. More generally, the left hemisphere was considered the major, or dominant, half of the brain, probably because society placed more value on the skills it controlled, such as mathematics and grammar. The functions of the right hemisphere, meanwhile, were considered less important. Then, in the first half of the twentieth century, neuroscientific studies began to focus on what has come to be called the "localization" theory, that is, the belief that specific mental functions are controlled at specific locations in the brain.

More recent years have shown, however, that the hemispheres work cooperatively; that is, both sides of the brain are actively involved in higher cognitive processing. In the 1960s, for example, Roger Sperry and his associates (see Danesi, 1990), after a series of experiments on split-brain patients (individuals whose brain hemispheres were separated by surgical section of the corpus callosum), presented evidence that the activities of the two hemispheres were complementary and operated as a unit during higher cognitive processing, most noticeably in language processing. Their findings led to a spate of research in the 1960's and 1970's that challenged the notion of left-hemisphere dominance.

The following paragraphs summarize some of the major research neurolinguistic issues in the literature since the 1980s, with particular attention given to those that relate to the teaching and learning of a second language. These issues can be categorized as follows: brain lateralization and the organization of language functions, age and sex factors, neuronal involvement in first and second language acquisition, lateralization versus modularity, and the critical period and lateralization.

Brain Lateralization and Organization of Language Functions

A great deal of research has focused on brain lateralization and the organization of language functions. For example, in their 1981 study, Goldberg and Costa examined evidence for neuroanatomical differences of the cerebral hemispheres and their possible effects on cognitive processing. They hypothesized that the left hemisphere is superior in using multiple descriptive systems that are already available in the cognitive faculties, while the right hemisphere plays an important role in processing materials for which there are no pre-existing descriptive systems. According to this postulation, control of the requisite cognitive functions shifts from the right to the left hemisphere during processing. Thus, different hemispheres are involved in different stages of cognitive processing, so that neither hemisphere has exclusive control over particular cognitive tasks.

In the early 1970s, neuroscientists started to discuss the possibility of the involvement of the right hemisphere in language, and in the early 1980s the notion that the RH plays an important role in processing new stimuli became a workable hypothesis (Danesi, 1994). Albert and Obler observed in 1978 that language organization is more bilateral in bilingual children than in monolingual children, and that the RH is crucial in SLA. Other researchers, such as Arbib, Caplan, and Marshall (1982) and Segalowitz (1983), concluded that the right hemisphere is involved in the processing of prosodic, figurative language, and verbal humor, while the left hemisphere is engaged in processing discrete components of language. The right hemisphere is responsible for synthesizing these components into meaningful discourse.

In 1977, Hamers and Lambert argued that the role of the RH may be more active in adults than in children. In addition, Galloway and Krashen (1980), among others, put forward a "stage hypothesis" that postulated the dominance of the right hemisphere in initial stages of SLA and the dominance of the left hemisphere in later stages.

The most recent research in the involvement of the right hemisphere in language processing is inconclusive and ambiguous. It has shown, for example, that the two hemispheres actually share the traits normally assigned to them individually; that is, the left hemisphere is engaged in "holistic, parallel processing" and the right hemisphere in "analytical, serial processing" (Danesi, 1994, p. 220). There is, however, general agreement that the right hemisphere is important for processing word meaning.

Danesi concludes that there is no clear evidence that the right hemisphere is involved in SLA in any distinct manner and that caution must be exercised when formulating models of SLA based on right-hemisphere involvement at different acquisition stages and applying such models to second language teaching.

Furthermore, Paradis (1990) argued that the right hemisphere might actually interfere with the acquisition of native-like proficiency, since the greater the amount of proficiency achieved, the more asymmetrical are the results. Early language development entails bilateral involvement, but later the less efficient systems of the right hemisphere drop out of language processing. Paradis suggested, therefore, that the early use of the left hemisphere would improve the efficiency of SLA. In addition, he advised language teachers to use caution when applying "hypothetical and often quite controversial" (p. 582) neuropsychological constructs to their pedagogy.

In another study of lateralization, Anderson, Plunkett, and Hammond (1985) observed that the left hemisphere was responsible for essential language functions such as phonology, syntax, and semantics. Patients whose right hemisphere was damaged had difficulty comprehending a sentence in a larger context and registering inferences. Anderson et al. showed clear evidence that the right hemisphere supports intonation, musical abilities, evalua-

tion of the emotional tone of speech, and an appreciation of humor.

Anderson et al. further suggested that both hemispheres may be engaged in processing verbal data; that is, the left hemisphere is involved in analyzing the meaning, while the right hemisphere places meaning in context. In addition, the left hemisphere is receptive to details, while the RH is responsive to general patterns. The hemispheres are different not because they process different types of stimuli, but because they process the same information in different ways.

Age and Sex Factors

Concerning age of acquisition, Anderson et al. (1985) suggested that second language learning requires different strategies of processing at different stages. When the learner is young, left hemisphere strategies have a tendency to dominate, but later, due to decreased plasticity and advanced paralinguistic skills, right hemisphere strategies are preferred.

On the other hand, Anderson et al. concluded that there was no supporting evidence that greater right hemisphere involvement takes place in SLA due to age and sex. However, adolescent learners used more processing resources in their first and second languages, maybe because they were less fluent and exerted greater effort in general language learning. Females, moreover, showed more responsiveness in their right hemispheres during language processing.

The authors concluded that the second language teacher should provide "naturalistic, conversational settings that are highly redundant and have rich contexts" (p. 22). In that way, the teacher can strengthen involvement of the right hemisphere.

Neuronal Involvement in First and Second Language Acquisition

Jacobs (1988) discusses neurobiological evidence that learning a first language is different from learning a second language. Primary language acquisition (PLA) is concurrent with the development of the nervous system; it is dependent on and accountable for maturational neuronal changes. When second language is acquired, it must be merged into a neuronal structure already established by Universal Grammar (UG) and PLA interaction. Since the brain is not able to reproduce neurons after birth, the integration entails changing the existing substrate as well as using the same and/or different structures. As the primary language is continually used and polished, it becomes more automatic and requires smaller areas of the brain, therefore freeing cortical areas for SLA. This view suggests that the earlier second language acquisition begins, the greater is the advantage of brain plasticity. In addition, the second language appears to be more widely represented in the brain than is the primary language, so there is a suggestion that people who are bilateral can acquire an exceptional level of SLA.

Thus, from Jacobs' point of view, PLA and SLA take place through quantitatively different neurobiological mechanisms. Nevertheless, it is possible that the second language learner can achieve native-like competence, because dif-

ferent neural organizations can produce similar behaviors. Since an existing functional substrate in the adult needs only to be adjusted, rather than newly developed, reduced plasticity may not be as difficult an obstacle to SLA as is often believed.

Accordingly, fossilization need not be permanent, because all environmental factors can influence the neural substrate.

> Even though the adult brain cannot undergo the radical changes that develop the brain, the adult brain certainly remains plastic, capable of adapting extant substrate to new challenges such as the learning of a second language. [p. 327]

As Jacob points out, by age five the child has been actively involved in PLA for about 9,100 hours, which is much more than the average second language learners would spend on their language learning tasks.

Lateralization versus Modularity

In another approach, Munsell, Rauen, and Kinjo (1988) viewed the brain as highly modular; that is, it has a great many independent, specialized modules working rather loosely together, and some of these modules are specific to language acquisition. The language teacher can facilitate a learner's success by providing instructions that target the specific language-specific modules.

According to Munsell et al., conscious processes cannot be isolated from unconscious ones. There is a continuum between conscious and unconscious processes. This notion suggests that the teacher provide various activities—analysis, intuitive insight, work, and play—in order to give a balance and variety of the mental processes.

Modularity is much more important than laterality, according to these authors. The brain has hemispheric specialization, but its pedagogical implications are rather insignificant. Language learning should provide abundant, diverse activities, so that individuals can choose the types of processes that suit them. This approach may encourage those who normally rely on one type of thinking pattern to try different modalities.

Munsell et al. adopt Gardner's (1983, 1985) six types of intelligence: linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, kinesthetic, and personal. To accommodate these intelligences, the teacher should provide a variety of activities.

Memory, however, remains a puzzle. The brain has many different types of memory in numerous locations of the cortex. In addition, one's memory seems to consolidate while one sleeps. Perhaps more dreamable materials should be made available to language learners.

Neurolinguistic Accounts of Bilingualism

Grosjean (1989) discusses holistic/bilingual views of bilingualism. In the holistic view, bilingual ability is considered as an integrated whole, not as the simple sum of two monolingual abilities. Bilinguals use their two languages for different purposes in different environments and with different targets. Fluency in

one language relies on the needs created by the environment, and since the needs of the two languages are different, bilinguals do not develop equal fluency in both languages. By examining the various speech modes of the bilingual and identifying "deficits" in the modes, it may be possible to gain a better understanding of bilingual aphasia and the neurolinguistics of bilingualism.

In 1990, Paradis argued that research comparing unilinguals and bilinguals reported no significant differences in lateralization, and those differences that did exist were contradictory. Paradis went on to suggest that neuropsychologists should redirect their attention to more productive research. Not only did he doubt the argument that the right hemisphere is involved in both languages of bilinguals, he also contended that the current speculations were based on unreliable research and that there was no clinical evidence that the use of the right hemisphere was more dominant in bilinguals than in unilinguals.

The Critical Period and Lateralization

Danesi (1994) examined primary versus secondary language acquisition, the critical period hypothesis, and the role of the right hemisphere. It is his contention that the significant neuroscientific study of SLA began in the 1970s when Krashen reevaluated Lenneberg's clinical data (Krashen, 1973) and observed that PLA took place before age six. Moreover, Danesi disagreed with Lamendella (1977), who argued that PLA and SLA are dichotomous: they use different neurofunctional systems. Danesi argued that there was no evidence that different cerebral systems exist for PLA and SLA before or after the critical period. Currently, neuroscientists widely share the Paradis-Perecman view that bilinguals have the same conceptual systems as monolinguals, but that they have two independent semantic systems. Thus, the issue of reorganization of brain structure because of language learning after the PLA is inconclusive.

Lenneberg's critical period hypothesis remains inconclusive. In 1988, Scovel conducted comprehensive research on the hypothesis and concluded that there was no clear evidence that biological restrictions exist in language acquisition, except for the acquisition of pronunciation. More significant are psychological aspects such as motivation and cognitive style. Another view is that of Selinger (1978) and Walsh and Diller (1981), who suggested the existence of various critical periods for different subsystems of language. Finally, the theory of Universal Grammar does not acknowledge the possibility that SLA will ever reach the level of PLA. Danesi, however, believes that this UG view, which assumes that adults have only limited "accessibility" to language universals, is too narrow, because the adult learner has other resources besides biology, such as experience and training.

BIMODALITY

According to Danesi and Mollica (1988), bimodality is an educational construct that provides a theoretical foundation for second language instructions in the class-

room. It posits that in language acquisition "there is a natural flow from the synthetic and contextualizing functions of the right hemisphere to the analytical and formalizing functions of the left one" (p. 77) and both hemispheres play pivotal roles in successful language learning.

Danesi (1987) adopted Edwards' terminology, L-Mode and R-Mode, to refer to modalities of the hemispheres. The L-Mode features include "most speech functions, deciphering meaning, verbal memory, intellectual tasks, abstacting, and analytical, linear thinking," and R-mode features are "understanding figurative language and visual relations, spatial memory, intuitive tasks, free thinking, and relational, multiple, and synthetic thinking" (p. 380). The two hemispheres process language input as a unit and are thus complementary: the left hemisphere enables us to analyze individual concepts, while the right hemisphere allows us to synthesize information into discourse. Anatomically proven is that the right hemisphere is actively involved in initial learning tasks, and this fact suggests that the right hemisphere is more adept at processing new material. The left hemisphere, on the other hand, depends on previously processed information.

As for its classroom implications, bimodality suggests five instructional principles: modal directionality, modal focusing, creativity, contextualization, and personalization, as follows:

Modal directionality: Modal directionality is related to the initial tasks of language learning. Since the right hemisphere is better equipped to perform these tasks, teaching should reflect this fact by supplying concrete forms of instruction in the initial stages of learning.

Modal focusing: The principle of modal focusing means that, once the new concept is processed in the R-Mode, the learning process should shift to the L-Mode for analysis and organization.

Creativity: Creativity pertains to the ability of the learner to utilize language in creative and expressive ways.

Contextualization: When the learning task is L-Mode, supporting contexts should be provided in a process called contextualization. Among contextualization techniques are the use of open dialogues, authentic texts, and realia. Through these techniques grammar can be taught in context.

Personalization: Personalization activities, such as role-playing and diary-keeping, engage the student in "interactional" tasks that utilize a right-hemisphere function and provide context.

These principles highlight the fact that bimodality is not a "method," but a teaching construct. In his review of early language teaching methods, Danesi (1988) surveyed–from the perspective of bimodality–the failures of various language teaching methods and the subsequent abandonment of the method notion in the 1960s and

1970s. All of the early methods relied on inductive and deductive processes: the grammar-translation approach in the nineteenth century, the direct method from the second half of the nineteenth century to the end of World War I, the reading method of the 1920s and 1930s, and the audiolingual method up to the late 1960s. Consequently, the methods focused on left-hemisphere functions. Because they were unimodal, Danesi's concept of bimodality offers an neurological explanation for their failures.

More recent methods have fared little better in Danesi's view. The cognitive teaching method in the late 1960s and early 1970s attempted to revive deductive language teaching, but, as an L-Mode-focused approach, it was also unimodal and therefore short-lived. Then, in the 1970s, the concept of communicative competence replaced the method notion, but it too was limited in that it had the opposite tendency of utilizing the R-Mode while disregarding the L-Mode functions. Finally, in the 1980's, there were attempts to coordinate the grammatical (L-Mode) and communicative (R-Mode) approaches, and Danesi predicted that this integrated approach would receive the focus in the following decade.

In 1988, Danesi and Mollica conducted a pilot study on bimodality. An experimental group was given bimodal instructions (BM group) and two control groups were given instructions with L-Mode-dominant techniques (LM group) and R-Mode-dominant techniques (RM group), respectively. The subjects were first-year students enrolled in a beginning-Italian course for nonnative speakers at the University of Toronto. The LM group was provided with materials that focused on formalistic techniques such as the use of rules and mechanical drills, while the RM group was given materials that emphasized communicative tasks. The BM group was supplied with new material presented in the R-Mode, and the students were allowed to contribute "creative input" by using discourse techniques; in this way their backgrounds and interests were reflected in classroom practices.

When the students' overall achievement was compared, the BM group showed proficiency across the skills tested. Their performance was equal to the LM group in L-Mode skills (a fill-in-the-blank section of a two-hour test) and the RM group in R-Mode skills (a dialogue-expectancy section), but the BM group performed better than the other two groups both on the global proficiency (a cloze section) and on creative components (a 150-word composition).

Danesi (1991) reports on a follow-up study performed one year after the pilot study. Since in his pilot study Danesi had a problem in classifying teaching techniques into R-Mode or L-Mode without a neuroscientific basis, he used Lateral Eye Movement (LEM) to validate the modal categories used in the pilot study. In most right-handed people, when the left-hemispheric functions are activated, their eyes move slightly to the right, while right-hemispheric functions cause the eyes to move leftward. Three sub-

jects were given six ten-minute lessons for three days, and at the end of each session, while the subjects were thinking about the lesson, their eye movements were recorded with a video camera. The results allowed Danesi to validate the modal categories of the pilot study as neuroscientific terms.

In another study, Pallotta (1993) examined, from the perspective of bimodality, the five working hypotheses for proficiency-oriented instruction developed by Omaggio (1986) as follows:

1. *"Opportunities must be provided for students to practice using language in a range of contexts likely to be encountered in the target culture"* (p. 44).
   As noted before, contextualization is certainly an important part of Danesi's bimodal concept of instruction and one of his pedagogical principles.

2. *"Opportunities should be provided for students to practice carrying out a range of functions likely to be necessary in dealing with others in the target culture"* (p. 48).
   Performing tasks in real-life or simulated contexts involves the right hemisphere functions, while the left hemisphere is engaged in processing the grammatical structures necessary to carry out the tasks. This involvement of both hemispheres characterizes bimodal instruction.

3. *"In proficiency-oriented methods there is a concern for the development of linguistic accuracy from the beginning of instruction"* (p. 48).
   Proficiency-oriented instruction monitors the learner's linguistic output and provides necessary feedback. In this way, the left hemisphere is activated while right-hemispheric activities are being performed.

4. *"Proficiency-oriented methodologies respond to the affective needs of students as well as to their cognitive needs"* (p. 52).
   The implication of this statement is that language teaching involves the whole brain.

5. *"Proficiency-oriented methodologies promote cultural understanding and prepare students to live more harmoniously in the target-language community"* (p. 53).
   Both cultural understanding and harmonious living involve both hemispheres. The left hemisphere processes cultural information, but involvement of the right hemisphere is also required because the data can be fully understood only in a context evolving from one's experiences.

Thus, Omaggio's principles represent a close parallel to Danesi's bimodality.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In a rare attempt to apply research data in neuroscience to the field of second language teaching, Danesi proposed bimodality as a theoretical basis for instructional practices in the classroom. Bimodality is based on the neurobiological observation that the right hemisphere is anatomically disposed to process new stimuli more efficiently than the left. The reason for this difference is that the right hemisphere has greater interregional connectivity in the cortex, while the left hemisphere has a sequential neural structure. The left hemisphere, therefore, better at processing information for which pre-existing data is available. Bimodality postulates that there is a flow in cognitive processing during language acquisition from "the intuitive, synthetic, and contextualizing functions" of the right hemisphere to "the analytical and formalizing functions" of the left hemisphere (Danesi, 1987, p. 380), and therefore second language teaching should reflect that flow.

The bimodality hypothesis raises certain unresolved issues. Although the right hemisphere is considered to play an important role in second language learning, and Danesi's bimodality is based on such data, the evidence for the role of the right hemisphere in SLA is nevertheless inconsistent. Danesi and Mollica (1988) admit that the evidence for the importance of the right hemisphere in the early stages of second language acquisition is contradictory.

Moreover, Paradis (1990) argues that there is no evidence that the right hemisphere is used more predominantly by bilinguals than by unilinguals and in fact doubts that the right hemisphere plays any significant role in language learning. That author further suggests that the right hemisphere may actually obstruct acquisition of native-like fluency. In his 1994 review paper, Danesi agrees with Paradis' view that there is no clear evidence for the participation of the right hemisphere in the organization of language in SLA. Danesi acknowledges that any attempt to interpret technical neuroscientific findings into instructionally feasible concepts is risky and must be done "cautiously and judiciously" (p. 221). Perhaps the contradictory evidence and Danesi's dilemma are best reflected in Munsell, Rauen, and Kinjo's observation (1988): "The brain is exceedingly complex and easily leads to categorical generalizations on the basis of limited evidence. No one knows enough in our opinion to offer a neurolinguistic approach to language learning or to any type of learning" (p. 261).

Another issue concerning Danesi's bimodality is the lack of empirical studies. As previously discussed, Danesi and Mollica (1987) conducted a pilot study on bimodality as a hypothesis, and Danesi (1988) was a follow-up study; the LEM method in the follow-up study has too many constraints to be considered a valid method for an experimental study. Both studies, moreover, used small groups of subjects, so that their outcomes are statistically insignificant. To establish bimodality as a practical concept, additional empirical studies must be performed with different types of subjects, ma-

terials, and instructor styles in different classroom settings. Only when a consistent pattern of significant results is available can bimodality be considered worthy as a theoretical basis for instructional practice.

The final issue is that Danesi's bimodality hypothesis has possibly been the only concrete proposal for second language teaching from the perspective of neuroscience. Consequently, there have been few arguments for or against it from other SLA researchers. Thus, the validity of the hypothesis requires additional research and the support of appropriate neuroscientific data.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

If bimodality is established as a valid, workable concept, its implications for second language teaching would be extensive. First, language teaching should reflect the natural right-to-left flow from concrete to more formal forms of instruction. The R-Mode operates better in initial-orientation tasks or until sufficient sensory information has been absorbed. After the right hemisphere has processed the new stimuli, the left hemisphere takes over the processing. Therefore, instructions should start with concrete and sensorial presentation techniques and then should shift to formal, mechanical instructional procedures.

Second, a variety of activities in classroom should be emphasized. Bimodality suggests that the modalities of both hemispheres are essential to the classroom situation. Consequently, the teacher should select a rich diversity of activities that consistently stimulate the two learning modes. Munsell et al. (1988) noted that individual learners should be able to choose the types of learning processes that suit them, in which case a diversity of instructional practices becomes even more important.

Third, there must be provision in instruction for L-Mode learning. Recently, there has been heavy emphasis on communicative competence in SLA, which exercises the right hemisphere. As stated above, however, the bimodality construct suggests that learners shift to the L-Mode learning after the initial processing stages. For that reason, a viable teaching approach still requires techniques such as dictation, reading, writing, and examination of grammar. If we do away with all forms of pattern practice from the classroom, the left, or verbal, hemisphere will be deprived of the opportunity to analyze and organize the language data processed by the initial R-Mode functions.

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A Test for Learning Style Differences for the U.S. Border Population

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This study examines learning-style differences by using a simplified version of a nationally validated test instrument. Results suggest either additional training or a modification of traditional styles of instruction may be necessary when cross-cultural differences or gender differences are high. Our survey of six border region universities indicates that the indigenous population is distinctly polarized. In the border context, the university students tested displayed learning styles that diverge from the national norms. Results further indicated a significant difference in learning style between genders.

INTRODUCTION

The task of learning presents unique challenges when the course of instruction is not presented in the primary language of the learner. In schools along the Mexican-U.S. border, U.S. citizens for whom English is not the primary language may have learning styles that differ from the standards established for the U.S. population. First- and second-generation English-speaking citizens may retain the language of their parents, who speak only some or no English. Since cross-cultural differences are high in border and near-border populations, learning styles that are divergent from the norm require special training for the faculty.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Validity testing for standardized instruments of measurement traditionally samples only subjects for whom English is the primary language. The U.S.-Mexican border region, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, contains a multitude of university systems uniquely positioned to serve the indigenous population of the region. However, the primary language used for conducting the daily business in these regions is not English. Spanish is a necessary requirement for most transactions; whether involving a simple medical application, the purchase of groceries, or the arrangement of freight-forwarding with businesses from Mexico.

The border regions of the U.S. have evolved as a unique part of our cultural heritage, as have the university systems that serve this population. While instruction is almost entirely in English, the average student finds Spanish or a dialect of Spanish in day-to-day business use outside the university environment. This daily usage helps to reinforce Spanish as the primary language. In this region, the inability to communicate fluently in Spanish has an extremely limiting effect in both social and business settings.

Faculty working these regions may require additional training to enable them to meet the needs of students. The traditional style of instruction, while acceptable for the general population, may not be adequate or may require modification when the job setting is the border region. Because of potential differences in learning styles between genders, the application of different techniques may also be necessary, depending on the gender composition of the class.

Professors are usually serious and conscientious about their teaching effectiveness and their ability to help students learn (Pratt and Gentry, 1994). However, the research activities of professors are often closely aligned to the theoretical structure of the academic discipline and seldom focus on studying how learning occurs and the principles that create student learning.

Learning is the processing of information. The modes or styles of information processing that individuals prefer are popularly phrased "learning styles" or "learning style preferences." Rita Dunn, director of the St. John's University Center for the Study of Learning and Teaching Styles in Jamaica, New York, defines learning style as the way individuals begin to concentrate, process, internalize, and remember new and difficult material (Filipczak, 1995). Individuals can learn via modes outside those they prefer; however, when given a choice, individuals ultimately refer back to their original preferences (Gregorc, 1977). How individual students process information has profound effects on how well and how much they learn. The optimum learning environment exists when the modes/styles by which the individual student processes information match those of the teacher.

According to Filipczak (1995) traditional education uses an auditory model with visual reinforcement and ignores both kinesthetic and tactual learners. Traditional teaching methods also appeal to analytic processors, though only a small percent of learners are analytic. Thus, creating an environment conducive to all learning styles is preferred. Moreover, the fundamental nature of the human capacity to learn must be understood and applied in the classroom.

The nationally validated Gregorc Style Delineator (Gregorc and Ward, 1977) was the model for this study. The four learning styles,: CS (Concrete Sequential), AS (Abstract Sequential), AR (Abstract Random), and CR (Concrete Random) are described as follows:

- The CS person prefers factual over abstract concepts and hands-on experience. This student breaks problems into logical steps.

- An AS person is not deterred if the material presentation is not well organized. This person sees the relevance, listens intently, is a good reader, and notices new vocabulary used during lecture.

- An AR person needs time to process information. This student is attuned to human behavior, looks for the big

picture, is subject to outside influences, and needs structure to assist the learning process.

- The CR person learns quickly and prefers trial and error. This student makes intuitive leaps and may find alternative solutions.

A study of the relationship between the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator and the Gregorc Style Delineator indicated that each learning style from the Gregorc Style Delineator corresponds to certain traits on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Harasym, Leong, Juschka, Lucier, and Lorscheider, 1996). A preference for the Concrete Sequential learning style tended to have the traits of sensing and judging on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, while the Concrete Random learning style preference tended to have the traits of intuition and perception on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. The preference for the Abstract Sequential learning style tended to use the trait of thinking, while the Abstract Random learning style preference tended to have the trait of feeling (Harasym et al., 1996).

The educational community has long recognized the importance of determining learning styles and adapting teaching techniques to meet students' preferences. Unfortunately, many educators fail to incorporate this theory into practice. All too often business professors use traditional teaching methods, such as lectures and filling the board with notes to be copied by hand. These approaches fail to consider that more effective learning will take place if teaching styles are adapted to the learning preferences of students.

Because both the student population and the business world are becoming more multicultural, the need to determine the learning-style preferences for the population whose primary language is not English has increased dramatically. Teaching professionals must address diversity in order to make classes equitable to all types of students. Educators must examine their students, their methodology, and themselves. Only then can the learning style literature be examined for ways to optimize the learning environment for all students. If educators simply teach in the manner in which they learn, then emphasis is placed only on their individual learning style or preference. Identifying matches and mismatches of the various learning styles will enable us to better assess our methods and styles of teaching (Helgesen and Gentry, 1995).

Several studies have investigated the relation of culture to learning-style preferences. One such study by Helgesen and Gentry (1995) examined race differences for the average U.S. college. The Helgesen and Gentry sample focused on Caucasian and African-American comparisons and tests were administered in English. A similar study compared learning style preferences of Korean, Mexican, Armenian-American, and Anglo students in the Los Angeles area to show the cultural diversity of learning styles (Park, 1997). While all groups showed preference for auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile learning styles, the Koreans, Armenians, and

Mexicans differed from the Anglos in their responses to visual and group learning styles.

Our study focuses on the Hispanic-American whose primary language is Spanish. This study is unique in that it utilizes an evaluation instrument constructed in the primary language of the learner, thus reducing the potential of inaccurate results deriving from translation errors. Additionally, this study focuses on cross-cultural and gender differences found in border student populations. Suggestions are offered for either additional training or modification of traditional styles of instruction when significant cross-cultural and/or gender differences exist.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The assessment instrument used as a pattern for our study is the nationally validated Gregorc Style Delineator. This assessment involves the ranking of four words per group with a total of twelve groups. A copywrited scoring technique results in a visual profile of the subject across four learning styles,: CS (Concrete Sequential), AS (Abstract Sequential), AR (Abstract Random), and CR (Concrete Random)

Permission was obtained to use a Spanish translated version of the Gregorc Style Delineator. The instrument was translated from English into Spanish. The Spanish words used in the converted instrument were selected based on the currently accepted English definition. All ties were decided upon by a committee of four faculty members who are fluent in both English and Spanish. Additional demographic questions were also included in the test instrument to identify students by gender and to determine if Spanish was their primary language.

The Spanish version of the learning style delineator was administered at multiple border locations. Of the 342 forms returned, 187 were usable. The completed instruments were rejected from the study if English was the primary language, if the student was not fluent in Spanish, or if no indication of fluency was given. Completed forms that did not indicate gender were treated separately. These forms were included in the general sample, but excluded from the gender-specific samples.

Selection of universities to include in the study were based on two factors: (1) availability and (2) a predominately Hispanic student population. Universities in Texas along or near the Texas-Mexican border were included in the sample (see Table 1). The largest student bodies sampled were the University of Texas-Brownsville with 8,800 students (more than 90% Hispanic) and the University of Texas-Pan American with over 12,000 students (approximately 82% Hispanic). Smaller universities participating in the study were Sul Ross State University and Rio Grande College with a combined total of approximately 1,000 students and a 65% Hispanic population. Also sampled was Texas A&M International University with an enrollment of approximately 2,500 students and 85% Hispanic (see Table 1). The overwhelming majority of the university populations studied was Hispanic-American.

Table 1
University Enrollments and Hispanic Population

Universities Included in the Study [1,2]	Enrollment	Percent Hispanic Population
University of Texas-Brownsville	8,800 +	90 + percent
University of Texas-Pan American	12,000 +	82 + percent
Laredo State University	2,500 +	85 percent
Rio Grande College	1,000 +	65 + percent
Sul Ross	1,000 +	65 + percent

[1] Note: California Universities were unable to participate at this time due to controversy surrounding pending legislative issues.

[2] Special thanks to Dr. Betsy Bose, Dean, U.T. Brownsville, Dr. Bud Ellard, U.T. Pan American, Dr. Steven Ash, Sul Ross State University , and Dr. Malco Patterson, Texas A&M Intl. University, for their assistance in sampling.

Data analysis involved averaging the results for the three subsamples: Overall, Male, and Female. The Gregorc Style Delineator provided a visual representation of our findings as compared to national norms. The standard deviations of these averages were used to determine the sample characteristics for comparative purposes.

RESULTS

Each university was examined separately and as part of the overall sample. None of the universities sampled were inconsistent with one another, meaning no single university skewed the overall results.

Each of the samples received from participating schools is included in Charts I through IV. The results indicate a surprising similarity in two of the Learning Styles. Abstract Sequential and Concrete Random styles appear to dominate with minor differences between the different samples. In Chart V male respondents and female respondents are compared separately. The Abstract Sequential attribute is stronger for males, while the Concrete Random attribute is stronger for females. Chart VI includes all subjects tested, including those not identified by gender.

CONCLUSION

Whereas the general U.S. population studied in Helgesen and Gentry (1995) were classified as primarily CS (Concrete Sequential), our results classified the Hispanic population as predominately CR (Concrete Random). Females in the gen-

eral population tested AR (Abstract Random) (see Helgesen and Gentry, 1995); our population of Hispanic females was predominately the AS (Abstract Sequential) learning style. These results are unique and have specific implications for the learning process at border institutions.

Significant differences in learning styles between the average population of border and nonborder universities were identified. The differences were both cross-cultural and gender specific. Our study indicates that professors at border universities should consider adjusting teaching techniques to fit the learning style of this population. Further research is suggested to reconfirm these identified differences.

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CHART I

Overall results for UT - Brownsville sample
(N=38)

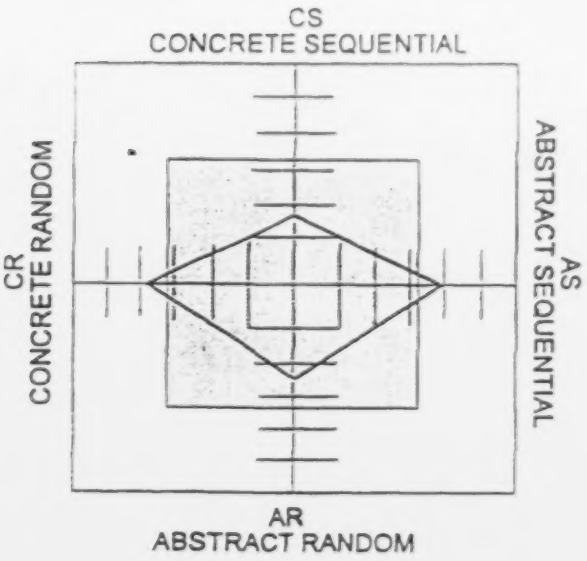

CHART II

Overall results for UT - Pan American sample
(N=42)

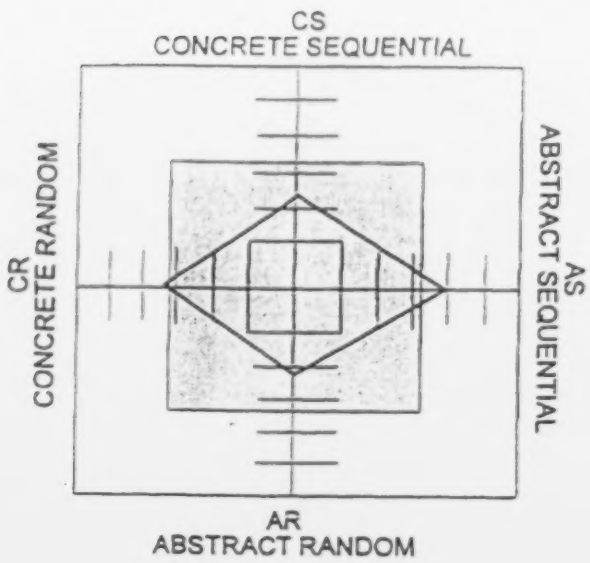

CHART III

Overall results for Laredo sample
(N=44)

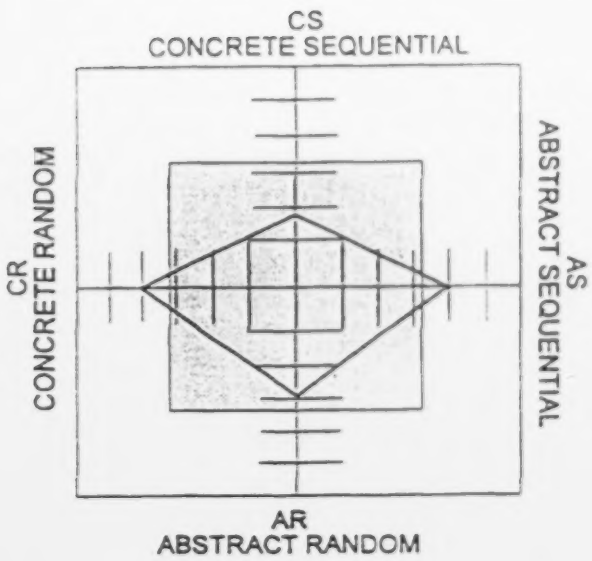

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CHART IV

Overall results for the SulRossUniversity Rio Grande College sample (N=25)

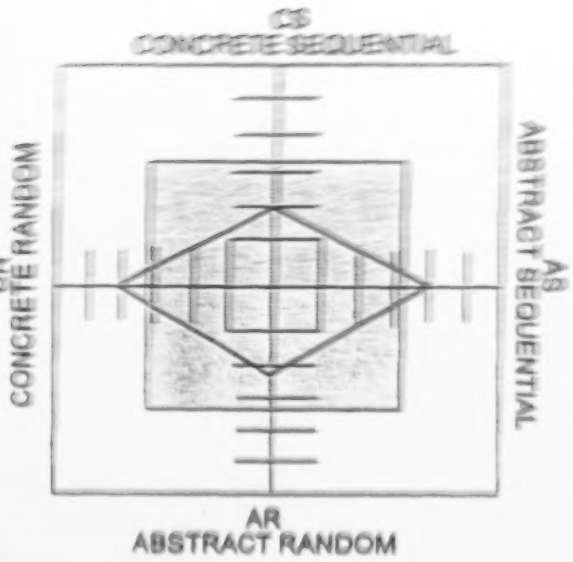
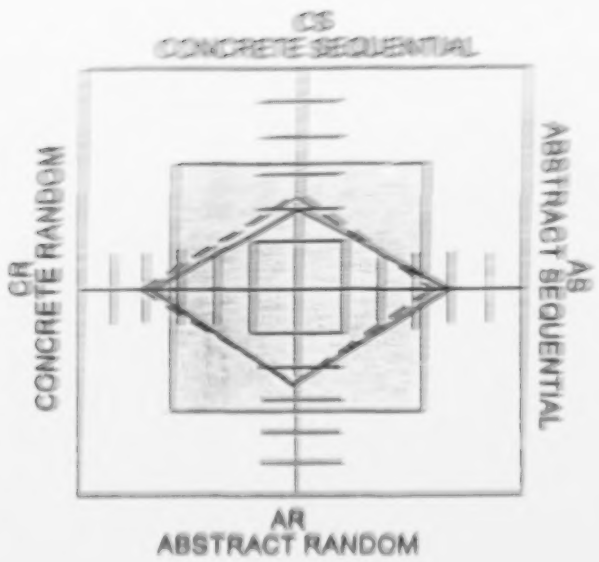


CHART V

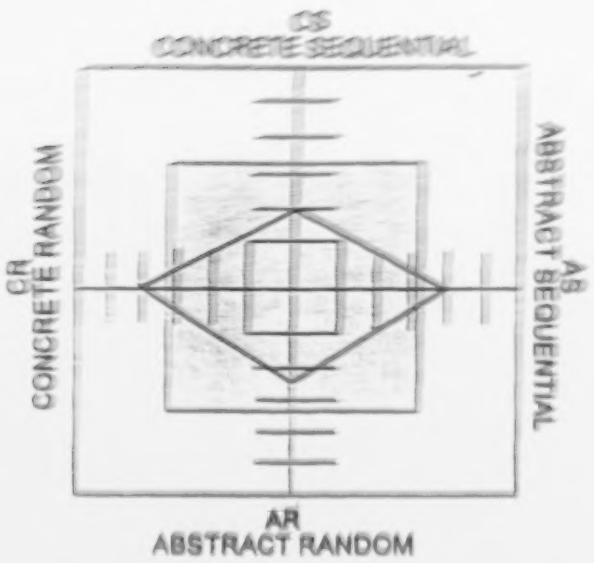
Overall results for the four universities sample
Male vs. Female (N=61 vs.88)



Key:
Male = ——
Female = – – –

CHART VI

Overall results for the four universities sample (N=187) includes surveys not identifying gender



Research Review

Reading Development in a Second Language: Theoretical, Empirical, & Classroom Perspectives. Elizabeth Bernhardt. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1991. Pp. xvii, 250. $39.50, cloth.

Review by DAVID COBERLY

This book aims toward the development of more principled teaching and research in the area of reading in a second language" (p. 19). This oft-repeated sentence forms the basis for Professor Bernhardt's important book, *Reading Development in a Second Language*. Bernhardt's case centers on rejection of the notion that L2 reading is a slower form of L1 reading. Rather, she argues persuasively that L2 reading is a quite different enterprise than L1 reading, and that instruction in the former deserves to be informed by relevant research. Inherent throughout the text is a rejection of the status quo in L2 reading instruction, i.e., the approaches proffered by "methods" textbooks.

The book is organized around three main purposes: 1) the discussion of prevailing views of the L2 reading process, 2) a review of the literature in L2 reading research, and 3) the presentation of her "new" theory of second language reading. The book would be praiseworthy solely on the merits of its incisive and exhaustive review of the research, but its biggest contributions come in presentation of new theory. Among the principles of this theory is the notion that (adult) students should be allowed some independent understanding of texts. When teachers try to maintain control of the development of text understanding, they deny the part of the process characterized by the development of meaning by the individual reader.

Bernhardt's principles 2 and 3 involve the inappropriateness of trying to anticipate student difficulties. According to Bernhardt, "principled teaching lies in a *strategic* teacher rather than in a *prepared* teacher in the usual sense" (p. 186). Her most important principle, however, is the idea that L2 reading instruction should be *direct*, i.e., responsive to perceived problems in student comprehensions of text. "This implies a teacher who is simultaneously in and out of direct control of her classroom" (p. 187).

This last principle leads to the recall protocol, an account of what students remember from their reading. A typical scenario would be one wherein at the beginning of class students are asked to write everything; they can remember from the previous evening's assigned reading. Students "recall" the reading in their L1, in order to ensure that comprehension is not confounded by L2 syntactic or writing considerations. The teacher/researcher is allowed to view in a direct way how textual meaning is being constructed and what factors, be they phonographemic, word recognition, syntactic, or background knowledge, are causing errors in the interpretation of text. Researchers gain a window on the reading processes of learners, and teachers discover what needs

teaching. This last point is arguably the most crucial to Bernhardt, and ties in to her theme that it is more important for the reading teacher to be strategic than "prepared."

There are minor points here with which a reader may find difficulty. Perhaps the greatest is the organization of text via charts. Frequently the charts themselves interrupt the discourse about their substance. In one of many such instances, the results of an eye-movement study were interrupted mid-sentence to present eight pages of supporting charts (pp. 43-52). Elsewhere we find reference to but no explanation of "degraded text" (p. 75). Perhaps this concept is obvious to the average student of L2 reading, but this text purports to be comprehensible to the beginner. Mention of a German student's possible racial bias (p. 161) baffles this reader, but doesn't really detract from the book's message. And last, in an effort to display the superiority of her recall protocols over the cloze test in assessing reading comprehension, Bernhardt seems to have overreached. This reader has no quarrel with her conclusion, but the sample cloze test selected seems extremely inappropriate for any but a very advanced reader of a second language (p. 196).

A brief review cannot do justice to a work of this magnitude. This reviewer has been disconcerted to find that among his acquaintances scant attention has been paid to this book. Bernhardt has taken a tremendous step toward a comprehensive treatment of second language reading, a step which piecemeal, however meritorious, research will be hard pressed to surpass. Suffice it to say that all second and foreign language teacher/researchers *need* this book, for in no other place will they find second language reading so comprehensively discussed.

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